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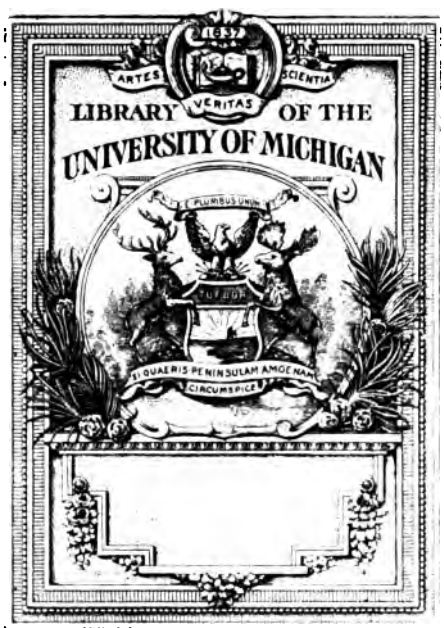
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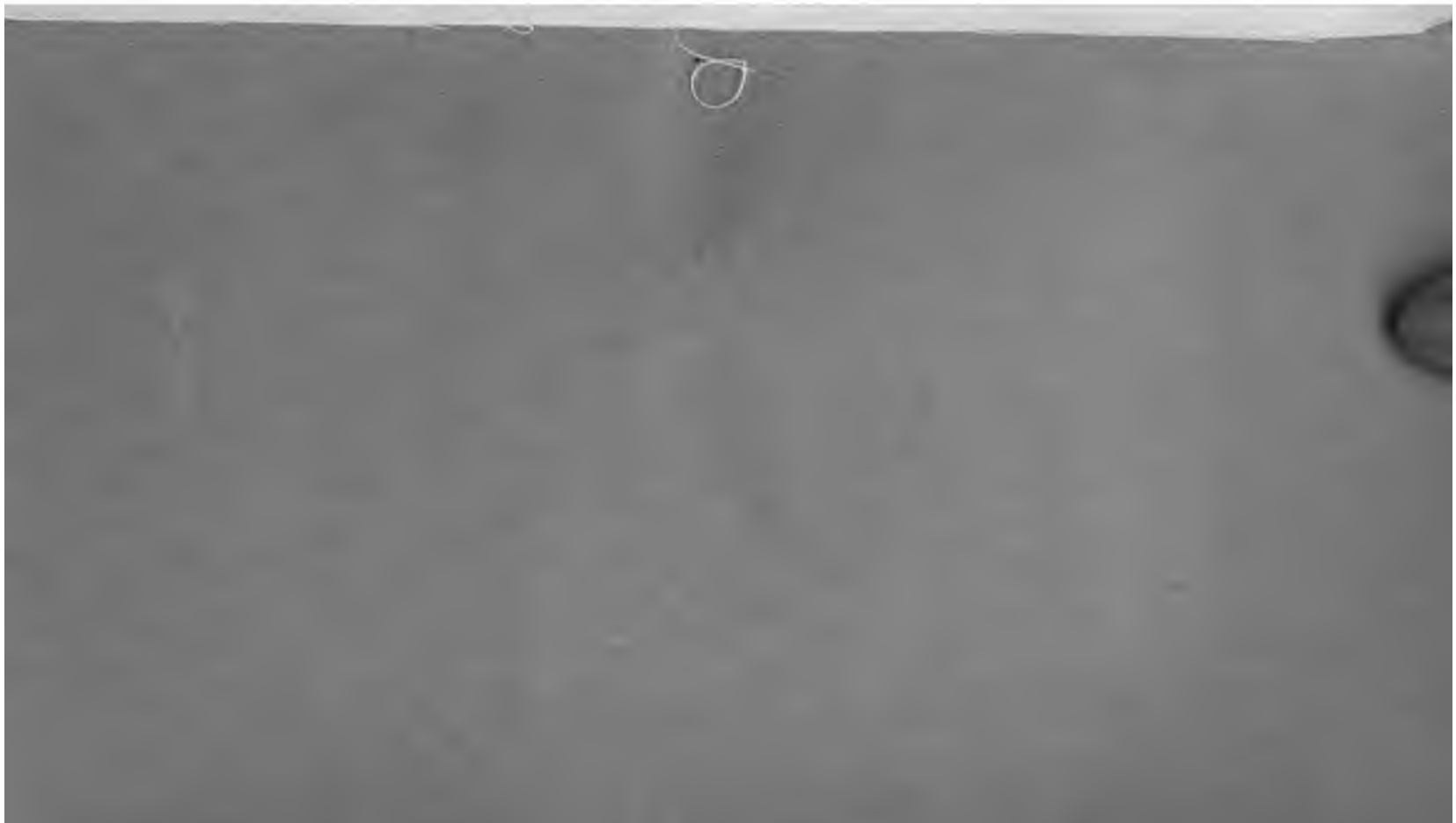

TRANSACTIONS

OF

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1902.

PREFACE.

Of books or pamphlets on the subject of political parties in Japan there are few to be found. In the compilation of this paper the following works have been consulted,

The Kenseitō-shō-shi,
憲政黨小史
which appeared originally in the columns of the "Jimmin" in 1900,

The Meiji Nem-pyo,
明治年表
The Teikoku Gi-Kwai Shi,
帝國議會史
The Go-dō Gen-kō-roku,
梧堂言行錄
Okuma Haku Seki-jitsu-dan,
大隈伯昔日譚
and the columns of the "Japan Mail."

My best thanks are due to R. Masujima Esq. for his kindness in reading through my manuscript and to J. C. Hall Esq., C.I.S.O., H. M. Consul at Kōbe, for valuable suggestions.

A. H. L.

September, 1902.

273494

JAPANESE CALENDARS.

BY

ERNEST W. CLEMENT, M.A.

(*READ APRIL 16, 1902.*)

The Japanese have plenty of time. This is true in more senses than one. In the first place, they are not in a hurry, but take things very leisurely and calmly. It may be exaggeration to state that they reverse the Occidental advice, and never do to-day what can be put off till to-morrow: but at least they take plenty of time for doing things. They have two interesting proverbs relating to this subject: "If in a hurry, go around" (*Isogaba maware*)* ; and "Hurrying ruins the matter" (*Seite wa koto wo shisonzuru*), the latter of which is a good equivalent of our proverb, "Haste makes waste." With an old-fashioned Japanese, an appointment for 9 o'clock may be met at any convenient time before 10 o'clock, because it is troublesome to take note of minutes, and it is, therefore, considered to be 9 o'clock, in round numbers, until it is 10 o'clock. Or, if he misses one train, "*shikata ga nai*" ("way there is not," or "there's no use"), and he waits patiently for the next train, even though it be half a day. It is thus evident that in old Japan there was no use for our proverb, "Time is money," and especially because money-making was despised, and

* See Note N.

the merchant was the lowest of the four classes of society (soldier, farmer, artisan, merchant). And if it is true that "procrastination is the thief of time," he must have filched cycles or centuries in old Japan! But Mr. E. H. House has suggested that the old practice of the Japanese indicated that they believed punctuality to be the thief of time!

This propensity to neglect the minutes in reckoning probably grew out of the fact that in Old Japan the common interval of time was equivalent to two hours. The day was divided as follows:—

Kokonotsu-doki (ninth hour),	11 p.m.-1 a.m.	and	11 a.m.-1 p.m.	
Yatsu-doki (eighth hour),	1-3	a. m.	and	p. m.
Nanatsu-doki (seventh hour),	3-5	„	„	„
Mutsu-doki (sixth hour),	5-7	„	„	„
Itsutsu-doki (fifth hour),	7-9	„	„	„
Yotsu-doki (fourth hour),	9-11	„	„	„

As half an hour of that kind was equal to one hour of our kind, it is not strange, perhaps, that it is now difficult for some to reckon minute-ly!

With reference to this old-fashioned way of marking the hours, we quote further words of explanation from Chamberlain's "Things Japanese" (page 470):—

"Why, it will be asked, did they count the hours backwards? A case of Japanese topsy-turvydom, we suppose. But then, why, as there were six hours, not count from six to one, instead of beginning at so arbitrary a number as nine? The reason is this:—three preliminary strokes were always struck, in order to warn people that the hour was about to be sounded. Hence, if the numbers one, two and three had been used to denote any of the actual hours, confusion might have arisen between them and the preliminary strokes,—a confusion analogous to that which, in our

own still imperfect method of striking the hour, leaves us in doubt whether the single stroke we hear be half-past twelve, one o'clock, half-past one, or any other of the numerous half-hours."*

We may add that this style of computation is based upon multiples of "nine" ($1\times9=9$, $2\times9=18$, $3\times9=27$, $4\times9=36$, $5\times9=45$, $6\times9=54$), and in each case the "tail" figure of the product was chosen as the name of the hour (9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4).

In the second place, the Japanese have plenty of time, because they have several different ways of reckoning the days, months, years and other periods. They have both solar and lunar time; Japanese, Chinese and Occidental time; two national calendars and several special periods; so that they have literally "a time for every thing," and, in some cases, they are very particular to do a certain thing "on time." Of the two Japanese calendars, one reckons from the mythological founding of the Japanese Empire by Jinmu Tennō in 660 B. C., and is known as *kigen* (history-beginning); and the other † is the special period called "Meiji" (Enlightened Rule), which began after the accession of the present Emperor, Mutsuhito. Thus, to illustrate, I happen to have before me an old issue of the *Kokumin Shimbun*, a daily newspaper of Tōkyō, and find the following dates:—"Meiji, 35th year; Kigen, 2,562; Occidental calendar, 1902; Chinese calendar Kōcho, 27th year. 2nd month [February], 7th day, Friday. Old calendar Ka-no-to-Ushi,‡ 12th month, 29th day, Ka-no-to-Tori.‡ Sun rises, 6 : 39 a:m. Sun sets, 5 : 12 p.m. Moon rises, 5 : 17 a.m. Moon sets, 4 : 04 p.m. High tide, 4 : 33 a.m. and 4 : 56 p.m."

* The old dial had only one hand, and was stationary, while the face moved. † See Note G. ‡ See table of zodiac later.

And then, as if to emphasize the contrasts between the old and the new in this mixture, is added the notice of the following time-saving device; "Telephone, Shimbashi, Special No. 70 (Editorial); Shimbashi No. 2,850 (Office)."

In the old style of reckoning, the years were named according to the twelve signs of the Chinese zodiac, taken in conjunction with the ten "celestial stems" (*jikkan*), obtained by dividing into two parts each of the five elements (wood, fire, earth, metal, water). These elements are known in Japanese as *ki*, *hi*, *tsuchi*, *ka* (for *kane*), and *mizu*; and the subdivisions are called *e* (or *ye*) and *to*, of which the former is said to represent the active element and the latter the passive element. Rein's explanation is as follows:* "They [the Japanese] distinguish accordingly (with special Chinese signs) ki-no-ye, wood in general, and ki-no-to, worked wood; hi-no-ye, natural fire (of the sun, volcanoes), and hi-no-to, domestic fire; tsuchi-no-ye, raw earth, and tsuchi-no-to, manufactured earth; ka-no-ye, native metal, and ka-no-to, worked metal; midzu-no-ye, running water, and midzu-no-to, stagnant water." Thus the name of the old calendar year (*Ka-no-To—Ushi*), just mentioned, means "Wrought metal—Ox;" and the name of that day, *Ka-no-To—Tori*, means "Wrought metal—Cock." This will all be made clear by reference to the following table:†

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* Rein's "Japan," p. 435. See also Note E.

† The current year (1902) is the 38th year of the present cycle, which began in 1864.

SYNOPSIS OF THE SEXAGENARY CYCLE.

Names of the constellations in the Sinico-Japanese Zodiac.	Wood. Ki no		Fire. Hi no		Earth. Tsuchi no		Metal. Ka [ne] no		Water. Mizu no		Names of our corresponding constellations.
	e	to	e	to	e	to	e	to	e	to	
Rat (*ne*[*zumi*]) 子	1		13		25		37		49		Aries.
Ox (*ushi*) 丑		2		14		26		38		50	Taurus.
Tiger (*tora*) 寅	51		3		15		27		39		Gemini.
Hare (*u*[*sagi*]) 卯		52		4		16		28		40	Cancer.
Dragon (*tatsu*) 辰	41		53		5		17		29		Leo.
Serpent (*mi*) [*hebi*] 巳		42		54		6		18		30	Virgo.
Horse (*uma*) 午	31		43		55		7		19		Libra.
Goat (*hitsuji*) 未		32		44		56		8		20	Scorpio.
Monkey (*saru*) 申	21		33		45		57		9		Sagittarius.
Cock (*tori*) 酉		22		34		46		58		10	Capricornus.
Dog (*inu*) 戌	11		23		35		47		59		Aquarius.
Boar (*i*) 亥		12		24		36		48		60	Pisces.

The lunar year was divided into twelve months of alternately 29 and 30 days each, and thus contained only 354 or 355 days; but this discrepancy from the solar year was made up by adding "to the 2nd, 5th, 8th, 11th, 13th, 16th and 19th year of every lunar cycle an intercalary month of varying length. This bore in Japan the name of *uro-tsuki* [*urū-zuki*] and followed the second month of the year, which was then 'reckoned twice over, as [*urū*] *uro-nigatsu*, i.e., supernumerary second month."*† An intercalated year contained 383 to 385 days. The months were named numerically, as follows:

Ichigatsu.	First Moon, (Shōgatsu—True Moon).
Nigatsu.	Second Moon.
Sangatsu.	Third Moon.
Shigatsu.	Fourth Moon.
Gogatsu.	Fifth Moon
Rokugatsu. . . .	Sixth Moon.
Shichigatsu. . . .	Seventh Moon.
Hachigatsu. . . .	Eighth Moon.
Kugatsu.	Ninth Moon.
Jūgatsu.	Tenth Moon.
Jūichigatsu. . . .	Eleventh Moon.
Jūnigatsu.	Twelfth Moon.

All of the months had also poetical appellations, as follows:—

1. *Mutsuki* (Social‡ month). Or *Umutsuki* (Birth month). Or *Tarō-zuki* (Eldest-son month).
2. *Kisaragi* (Putting on new clothes).

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* Rein's "Japan," page 434. See also Note O.

† But this extra month was not confined to *nigatsu* (February).

‡ From *mutsumu*, to be friendly.

3. *Yayoi* (Great growth).
4. *Uzuki* (Hare month). Or *Mugi-aki* (Wheat harvest).
5. *Satsuki* (Early moon).
6. *Minazuki* (Water-less month). Period of drought.
7. *Fumizuki* (Rice-blooming month). Or (Composition month).
8. *Hatsuki* (Leafy month). Or *Tsukimizuki* (Moon-viewing month).*
9. *Nagatsuki* (Long moon), Or *Kikuzuki* (Chrysanthemum month).
10. *Kannazuki* (God-less month).† Or *Koharu* (Little Spring).
11. *Shimotsuki* (Frost month). Or *Yōgetsu* (Sunny month).
12. *Shiwasu* (Finishing up month). Or *Gokugetsu* (Last moon).

The four seasons of spring, summer, autumn, and winter were recognized; and there were also 24 periods of 14 or 15 days each, which, to a great extent, indicated the weather, and which the farmer carefully followed in planning his labors. These were as follows, beginning in February, about the time of the beginning of the New Year (o.c.):—

1. *Risshun* (Rise of Spring).
2. *Usui* (Rain Water). } February.

---

* Or *Ina-agari-zuki* (Month when rice comes up). Or *Momiji-zuki* (Red leaves month).

† The Shinto gods (*kami*), except Ebisu (god of wealth,) who is deaf and dose not hear the summons, were all supposed to leave the other parts ot the country and to assemble in "annual conference" in their ancestral home of Izumo. And as the gods had thus neglected their usual business of watching over the people, it was not considered of any use to offer prayers or sacrifices, and that month was called *kami-naki-tsuki*, or *kami-na-zuki*, or *kanna-zuki*.

3. *Keichitsu* (Awakening of Insects). 4. *Shumbun* (Vernal Equinox).	March.
5. *Seimei* (Clear and Bright). 6. *Koku-u* (Cereal Rain).	April.
7. *Rikka* (Rise of Summer). 8. *Shōman* (Little Filling).	May.
9. *Bōshu* (Grain in Ear) 10. *Geshi* (Summer Solstice).	June.
11. *Shōsho* (Little Heat). 12. *Taisho* (Great Heat).	July.
13. *Risshū* (Rise of Autumn). 14. *Shosho* (Limit of Heat).	August.
15. *Hakuro* (White Dew). 16. *Shūbun* (Autumnal Equinox).	September.
17. *Kanro* (Cold Dew). 18. *Sōkō* (Frost Fall).	October.
19. *Rittō* (Rise of Winter). 20. *Shōsetsu* (Little Snow)	November.
21. *Taisetsu* (Great Snow). 22. *Tōji* (Winter Solstice).	December.
23. *Shōkan* (Little Cold). 24. *Daikan* (Great Cold).	January.

The peasantry also observed rather scrupulously other special times, which Chamberlain thus explains :*— "For instance, they sow their rice on the eighty-eighth day (*Hachi-jū-hachi-ya*†) from the beginning of spring (*Risshun*), and they plant it out in *Nyūbai*, the period fixed for the early summer rains. The two hundred and tenth and two hundred and twentieth days (*Ni-hyaku-tōka* and *Ni-hyaku-hatsuka*) from the beginning of spring, and what is called *Hassaku*, that, is the first day of the eighth moon, Old Calendar, are looked on as days of special importance to the crops, which are certain to be injured if there is a storm, because the rice is then in

* "Things Japanese." † Literally "88th night."

flower. They fall early in September, just in the middle of the typhoon season. St. Swithin's Day has its Japanese counterpart in the *Ki-no-E Ne*, mentioned above as the first day of the sexagesimal cycle, which comes around once in every two months approximately. If it rains then, it will rain for that whole cycle, that is, for sixty days on end.* Again, if it rains on the first day of a certain period called *Hassen*,† of which there are six in every year, it will rain for the next eight days. These periods, being movable, may come at any season. Quite a number of festivals, pilgrimages to temples, and other functions depend on the signs of the zodiac. Thus, the *mayu-dama*, a sort of Christmas tree decorated with cakes in honor of the silk-worm, makes its appearance on whatever date in January may happen to be the First day of the Hare (*Hatsu-U*)." Then Tōkyō people visit the shrine of Myōgi [Myōken?].

The *Hassen*, mentioned above, come as follows during the year 1902:—

1. January 29 .....o. c. XII, 20.
2. March 30 .....o. c. II, 21.
3. May 29.....o. c. IV, 22.
4. July 28 .....o. c. VI, 24.
5. September 26.....o. c. VIII, 25.
6. November 25.....o. c. X, 26.

There were also 72 "seasons," (*shichijūni-kō*); but what they were I have not learned.

In old Japan the week was entirely unknown; and it was not till the present era [Meiji], that the *ichi-roku*,‡ or holidays on the

* If it rains during the first nine days of *kan* (cold season), it is an omen of a rainless summer.

† A period of twelve days, "unlucky for marriage matters."

‡ The 1st, 6th, 11th, 16th, 21st, 26th, [31st], days.

"ones" and "sixes" of each month, were introduced. But that was speedily abandoned for the week system, with Sunday as an official holiday, and with names adapted from the Occidental names, as follows:—

Nichiyōbi.....(Sun-day)=Sunday.
Getsuyōbi.....(Moon-day)=Monday.
Kwayōbi.....(Mars-day)=Tuesday.
Suiyōbi.....(Mercury-day)=Wednesday.
Mokuyōbi.....(Jupiter-day)=Thursday.
Kinyōbi.....(Venus-day)=Friday.
Doyōbi.....(Saturn-day)=Saturday.

And Prof. Chamberlain tells of the adoption of even the Saturday half holiday:—"Sunday being in vulgar parlance *Dontaku* [a corruption of the Dutch *Zontag*], Saturday is called (in equally vulgar parlance) *Handon*, that is "half Sunday."

There is, moreover, another division of the month more or less common even at the present day. By it, each month is divided into three periods, called *jun*, of about ten days, known as *jōjun*, *chūjun*, *gejun* (upper, middle and lower decade).

The days of each month were named, not only in numerical order, but also according to the sexagesimal table described above in connection with the names of the years in "a cycle of Cathay." And the latter names were perhaps more important than the numerical ones, because, according to these special names, a day was judged to be either lucky or unlucky for particular events. "Every day has its degree of luck for removal [from one place to another], and, indeed, according to another system, for actions of any kind; for a day is presided over in succession by one of six stars which may make it lucky throughout or only at night, or in

the forenoon or the afternoon, or exactly at noon, or absolutely unlucky. There are also special days on which marriages should take place, prayers are granted by the gods, stores should be opened, and sign-boards put up."* Dr. Griffis informs us in the "The Mikado's Empire," that "many people of the lower classes would not wash their heads or hair on 'the day of the horse,' lest their hair become red." On the other hand, this "horse day" is sacred to Inari Sama, the rice-god, who employs foxes as his messengers; and "the day of the rat" is sacred to Daikoku, the god of wealth, who, in pictures, is always accompanied by that rodent. Carpenters also have their lucky and unlucky days, as we learned at the time when the recitation-building of the Duncan Baptist Academy, Tokyo, was going up. The roof raising had been originally planned for March 14-16, [1901], but was unavoidably delayed. As it was expected to cover three days, which should be consecutive, and not broken into by the 17th, Sunday, the next possible dates were March 18-20. But as March 18 (Monday) was "tiger day," and considered inauspicious, the time was fixed for March 19-21, the days, respectively, of the "hare," the dragon" and the "serpent." The original dates would have been auspicious, because they were the days of the "dog," the "boar" and the "rat." As for wedding days, Rev. N. Tamura says:†—

"We think it is very unfortunate to be married on the 16th of January, 20th of February, 4th of March, 18th of April, 6th of May, 7th of June, 10th of July, 11th of August, 9th of September, 3rd of October, 25th of November, or 30th of December, also on the grandfather's or grandmother's death day." These dates are

* From Inouye's "Sketches of Tokyo Life."

† "A Japanese Bride," pp. 32, 33.

probably applicable to only the old calendar. "Seeds will not germinate if planted on certain days" (Griffis).*

The hours were named, not only according to the plan mentioned above, but also according to the heavenly menagerie, in the following way :—

1. Hour of the Rat, ...11 p.m.—1 a.m.
2. „ „ Ox, ...1-3 a.m.
3. „ „ Tiger, ...3-5 a.m.
4. „ „ Hare, ...5-7 a.m.
5. „ „ Dragon, ...7-9 a.m.
6. „ „ Serpent, ...9-11 a.m.
7. „ „ Horse, ...11 a.m.—1 p.m.
8. „ „ Goat, ...1-3 p.m.
9. „ „ Monkey, ...3-5 p.m.
10. „ „ Cock, ...5-7 p.m.
11. „ „ Dog, ...7-9 p.m.
12. „ „ Boar, ...9-11 p.m.

It will be noticed that each period is two hours (Occidental) long; but it was also divided, as were likewise the numerical "hours" mentioned above, into *jōkoku* and *gekoku* (upper and lower *koku*), each of which was thus equivalent to exactly one hour of sixty minutes.* The "hour of the ox," by-the-way, being the time of sound sleep, was sacred to women crossed in love for taking vengeance upon a straw image of the recreant lover at the shrine of Fudō."‡ "After 5 p.m. many people will not put on new clothes or sandals" (Griffis).

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* See Notes D and F. † See Note O.

‡ See Griffis's "Honda the Samurai," pp. 256-266, or "The Mikado's Empire," page 474. Also see Note I.

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Following a Chinese model, from which the Japanese calendar was, of course, derived, we may construct a "time table;" but we must bear in mind that some of the terms are comparatively modern, and are derived from Occidental sources.

TIME TABLE.

60 seconds (*byō*)	make	1 minute (*fun*).
15 minutes	,,	1 quarter (*koku*).
8 quarters	,,	1 hour (*toki, ji*).
96 quarters or 12 hours	,,	1 day (*nichi, hi, jitsu*).
10 days	,,	1 decade (*jun*).
29 or 30 days	,,	1 moon (*tsuki, getsu, gwatsu.*)
12 or 13 moons	,,	1 year (*toshi, nen*),
60 years	,,	1 cycle (*kihō*).

The *go-sekku*, or five festivals, also were, and are, carefully observed, although their dates have been changed to fit the new solar calendar. They fell on the first* (or, as some say, seventh) day of the first month, the third day of the third month, the fifth day of the fifth month, the seventh day of the seventh month, and the ninth day of the ninth month. They have various names, of which the most general are those made from the names of the months, such as *Shōgatsu no Sekku* (First Moon's Festival), etc., etc. But these names are not so commonly used as more specific ones, which describe more or less particularly the nature of the festival. For instance, the festival of the Third Month is well-known as *Jōmi no Sekku* (the Girls' Festival), or *Hinamatsuri* (Dolls' Festival); that of the fifth month is the famous *Tango no Sekku* (or the Boys' Festival), or *Nobori no Sekku* (Flag Festival); that of

* Originally so established in the reign of the Emperor Uda (888–897 A.D.

the seventh month is commonly called *Tanabata no Sekku* (Festival of the Star Vega); while that of the ninth month is called Chōyō no Sekku (Indian Summer Festival), or *Kiku no Sekku* (Chrysanthemum Festival). Moreover, the Girls' Festival is also called *Momo no Sekku* (Peach Festival), and the Boys' Festival is called *Shōbu no Sekku* (Sweet Flag Festival).*

There is now, of course, considerable confusion between the old and the new calendars, of which the latter is official, but the former is popular and still observed in country districts. And this confusion naturally leads to some curious anachronisms. For instance, the 7th day of the 1st month (o.c.) was known as *Nanakusa* (Seven Herbs), because the people were wont to go out into the fields and gather seven kinds of greens† to boil and eat on that day, to preserve from diseases during the year: but January 7 is too cold and early for such expeditions and such vegetables. In some cases, the old day is retained, no matter whether it fits the new calendar or not. But, "for the most part, the old *date* has been retained, notwithstanding the change thus caused in the actual *day*." In fact, often during a year "the time is out of joint." And there are not a few people who are quite willing to keep both calendars and thus get twice as many holidays!

But, as this general topic is well-nigh inexhaustible, and "time flies" "like an arrow" (*ya no gotoshi*) here as elsewhere, we may as well stop at this point, and append, as an illustration, the official calendar for the current year with necessary explanations.

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* For a full treatment of the floral calendar, see Mr. Conder's elaborate paper in Vol. XVII, Part II., pp. 1-96, of the Transactions of this Society; also Vol. XIX, Pt. 3, page 548.

† Parsley, shepherd's purse, cudweed, chickweed, henbit, horse-tail, radish.

Short True Calendar of Meiji 35th Year.

2,562nd year from the date of the ascension of the Emperor Jimmu.

35th year of Meiji.

Common year—365 days.

[National Holidays].*

Shihōhai	January,	1.
Genji-sai	January,	3.
Kōmei Tennō Sai	January,	30.
Kigen-setsu	February,	11.
Shunki Kōrei Sai	March,	21.
Jimmu Tennō Sai	April,	3.
Shūki Kōrei Sai	September,	24.
Kanname Sai	October,	17.
Tenchō-setsu	November,	3.
Niiname Sai	November,	23.

Size of Months.

[New calendar].		[Year]	[Old calendar].	
1. Large.	2. Common.	Wrought metal—Ox.	11. Large.	12. Small.
3. „	4. Small.	Sea water—Tiger.	1. „	2. „
5. „	6. „		3. „	4. „
7. „	8. Large.		5. Small.	6. Large.
9. Small.	10. „		7. „	8. „
11. „	12. „		9. „	10. „
			11. Large.	

* See Note B.

Lunar Eclipse in Tokyo—Total.

On April 23 at 2-0-2 a.m. the moon begins to grow dark from the upper left side; and at 3-10-2 a.m. it is dark on the lower right side. At 3-52-8 a.m. it is very dark. At 4-55-4 a.m. it begins to grow light on the left side; and it sets at 5-3-4 a.m. with sixty-two hundredths of its surface still dark.

Table of Sundays.

January 5, 12, 19, 26.	February 2, 9, 16, 23.
March 2, 9, 16, 23, 30.	April 6, 13, 20, 27.
May 4, 11, 18, 25.	June 1, 8, 15, 22, 29.
July 6, 13, 20, 27.	August 3, 10, 17, 24, 31.
September 7, 14, 21, 28.	October 5, 12, 19, 26.
November 2, 9, 16, 23, 30.	December 7, 14, 21, 28.

Seven Luminaries.

Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn.

Natural Wood—Rat Days.*

Feb. 10, Apr. 11, June 10, Aug. 9, Oct. 8, Dec. 7.

Wrought Earth—Serpent Days.†

Feb. 15, Apr. 16, June 15, Aug. 14, Oct. 13, Dec. 12.

Natural Metal—Monkey Days.‡

Feb. 6, Apr. 7, June 6, Aug. 5, Oct. 4, Dec. 3.

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* Sacred to Daikoku, god of wealth, as previously stated.

† Sacred to Benten, goddess of love and sea-goddess.

‡ Sacred to Kōshin, represented by the three (blind, deaf and dumb) monkeys.

CALENDAR.

1902.

(LARGE) JANUARY (31 DAYS).

NEW CALENDAR.	OLD CALENDAR—YEAR, MONTH, DAY.	MOON RISES.	MOON SETS.
1. Wednesday.	Wrought metal, ox—11-22 (Natural wood, monkey).	11 : 51 p.m.	10 : 54 a.m.
	Shihōhai [Four-sides worship, i.e., N.E.S.W., all around.]		
2. Thursday. Last Quarter Moon, 1 : 08 a.m.	23 (Wrought wood, cock).	——	11 : 26 a.m.
3. Friday. Genjisai (First-beginning-festival).	24 (Natural fire, dog).	12 : 47 a.m.	11 : 59 a.m.
4. Saturday.	25 (Artificial fire, boar).	1 : 41 a.m.	12 : 34 p.m.
5. Sunday. New Year's Banquet.	26 (Natural earth, rat).	2 : 36 a.m.	1 : 11 p.m.
6. Monday.	27 (Wrought earth, ox).	3 : 29 a.m.	1 : 52 p.m.
Shōkan [Little Cold], 2 : 52 p.m. Old Calendar, 12th month season.*			
Sun rises, 6 : 53 a.m. Sun sets, 4 : 40 p.m. Day, 9 h., 48 m. Night, 14 h., 12 m.			
7. Tuesday.	28 (Natural metal, tiger).	4 : 21 a.m.	2 : 38 p.m.
8. Wednesday.	29 (Wrought metal, hare).	5 : 10 a.m.	3 : 27 p.m.
9. Thursday.	30 (Sea water, dragon).	5 : 57 a.m.	4 : 20 p.m.
10. Friday. New Moon, 6 : 15 a.m.	(Small) 12-1 (Spring water, serpent).	6 : 40 a.m.	5 : 17 p.m.
11. Saturday.	2 (Natural wood, horse).	7 : 21 a.m.	6 : 15 p.m.
12. Sunday.	3 (Wrought wood, goat).	7 : 58 a.m.	7 : 14 p.m.
13. Monday.	4 (Natural fire, monkey).	8 : 34 a.m.	8 : 15 p.m.
14. Tuesday.	5 (Artificial fire, cock).	9 : 08 a.m.	9 : 16 p.m.
15. Wednesday.	6 (Natural earth, dog).	9 : 42 a.m.	10 : 19 p.m.
16. Thursday.	7 (Wrought earth, boar).	10 : 18 a.m.	11 : 22 p.m.

17. Friday. First Quarter Moon, 3 : 38 p.m.	8 (Natural metal, rat).	10 : 55 a.m.	—	—
18. Saturday. *Doyō-no-iri.*† 9 : 27 a.m.	9 (Wrought metal, ox).	11 : 36 a.m.	12 : 28 a.m.	
19. Sunday.	10 (Sea water, tiger).	12 : 23 p.m.	1 : 34 a.m.	
20. Monday.	11 (Spring water, hare).	1 : 15 p.m.	2 : 40 a.m.	
21. Tuesday.	12 (Natural wood, dragon).	2 : 13 p.m.	3 : 43 a.m.	
Daikan [Great Cold], 8 : 12 a.m. Old Calendar, middle 12th month.*				
Sun rises, 6 : 50 a.m. Sun sets, 4 : 55 p.m. Day, 10 h. 5 m. Night, 13 h. 55 m.				
22. Wednesday.	13 (Wrought wood, serpent).	3 : 17 p.m.	4 : 43 a.m.	
23. Thursday.	14 (Natural fire, horse).	4 : 23 p.m.	5 : 37 a.m.	
24. Friday. Full Moon, 9 : 06 a.m.	15 (Artificial fire, goat).	5 : 29 p.m.	6 : 25 a.m.	
Abeno Festival in Settsu [Province].				
25. Saturday.	16 (Natural earth, monkey).	6 : 35 p.m.	7 : 07 a.m.	
26. Sunday.	17 (Wrought earth, cock).	7 : 38 p.m.	7 : 45 a.m.	
27. Monday.	18 (Natural metal, dog).	8 : 39 p.m.	8 : 20 a.m.	
28. Tuesday.	19 (Wrought metal, boar).	9 : 38 p.m.	8 : 53 a.m.	
29. Wednesday.	20 (Sea water, rat).	10 : 35 p.m.	9 : 26 a.m.	
30. Thursday. Emperor Kōmei's Festival.	21 (Spring water, ox).	11 : 31 p.m.	9 : 58 a.m.	
31. Friday. Last Quarter Moon, 10 : 09 p.m.	22 (Natural wood, tiger).	—	10 : 33 a.m.	

* Approximate, here and in similar cases hereafter.

† *Doyō* is defined in Hepburn's Dictionary as "a period of some 20 days in each of the four seasons"; *iri* means "coming in," or "beginning."

(LARGE) JANUARY (31 DAYS).

NEW CALENDAR.	OLD CALENDAR—YEAR, MONTH, DAY.	MOON RISES.	MOON SETS.
1. Wednesday.	Wrought metal, ox—11-22 (Natural wood, monkey).	11 : 51 p.m.	10 : 54 a.m.
Shihōhai [Four-sides worship, i.e., N.E.S.W., all around.]			
2. Thursday. Last Quarter Moon, 1 : 08 a.m.	23 (Wrought wood, cock).	——	11 : 26 a.m.
3. Friday. Genjisai (First-beginning-festival).	24 (Natural fire, dog).	12 : 47 a.m.	11 : 59 a.m.
4. Saturday.	25 (Artificial fire, boar).	1 : 41 a.m.	12 : 34 p.m.
5. Sunday. New Year's Banquet.	26 (Natural earth, rat).	2 : 36 a.m.	1 : 11 p.m.
6. Monday.	27 (Wrought earth, ox).	3 : 29 a.m.	1 : 52 p.m.
Shōkan [Little Cold], 2 : 52 p.m. Old Calendar, 12th month season.*			
Sun rises, 6 : 53 a.m. Sun sets, 4 : 40 p.m. Day, 9 h., 48 m. Night, 14 h., 12 m.			
7. Tuesday.	28 (Natural metal, tiger).	4 : 21 a.m.	2 : 38 p.m.
8. Wednesday.	29 (Wrought metal, hare).	5 : 10 a.m.	3 : 27 p.m.
9. Thursday.	30 (Sea water, dragon).	5 : 57 a.m.	4 : 20 p.m.
10. Friday. New Moon, 6 : 15 a.m.	(Small) 12-1 (Spring water, serpent).	6 : 40 a.m.	5 : 17 p.m.
11. Saturday.	2 (Natural wood, horse).	7 : 21 a.m.	6 : 15 p.m.
12. Sunday.	3 (Wrought wood, goat).	7 : 58 a.m.	7 : 14 p.m.
13. Monday.	4 (Natural fire, monkey).	8 : 34 a.m.	8 : 15 p.m.
14. Tuesday.	5 (Artificial fire, cock).	9 : 08 a.m.	9 : 16 p.m.
15. Wednesday.	6 (Natural earth, dog).	9 : 42 a.m.	10 : 19 p.m.
16. Thursday.	7 (Wrought earth, boar).	10 : 18 a.m.	11 : 22 p.m.

17. Friday. First Quarter Moon, 3 : 38 p.m.	8 (Natural metal, rat).	10 : 55 a.m.	——	
18. Saturday. *Doyō-no-iri.*† 9 : 27 a m.	9 (Wrought metal, ox).	11 : 36 a.m.	12 : 28 a.m.	
19. Sunday.	10 (Sea water, tiger).	12 : 23 p.m.	1 : 34 a.m.	
20. Monday.	11 (Spring water, hare).	1 : 15 p.m.	2 : 40 a.m.	
21. Tuesday.	12 (Natural wood, dragon).	2 : 13 p.m.	3 : 43 a.m.	
Daikan [Great Cold], 8 : 12 a.m. Old Calendar, middle 12th month.*				
Sun rises, 6 : 50 a.m. Sun sets, 4 : 55 p.m. Day, 10 h. 5 m. Night, 13 h. 55 m.				
22. Wednesday.	13 (Wrought wood, serpent).	3 : 17 p.m.	4 : 43 a.m.	
23. Thursday.	14 (Natural fire, horse).	4 : 23 p.m.	5 : 37 a.m.	
24. Friday. Full Moon, 9 : 06 a.m.	15 (Artificial fire, goat).	5 : 29 p.m.	6 : 25 a.m.	
Abeno Festival in Settsu [Province].				
25. Saturday.	16 (Natural earth, monkey).	6 : 35 p.m.	7 : 07 a.m.	
26. Sunday.	17 (Wrought earth, cock).	7 : 38 p.m.	7 : 45 a.m.	
27. Monday.	18 (Natural metal, dog).	8 : 39 p.m.	8 : 20 a.m.	
28. Tuesday.	19 (Wrought metal, boar).	9 : 38 p.m.	8 : 53 a.m.	
29. Wednesday.	20 (Sea water, rat).	10 : 35 p.m.	9 : 26 a.m.	
30. Thursday. Emperor Kōmei's Festival.	21 (Spring water, ox).	11 : 31 p.m.	9 : 58 a.m.	
31. Friday. Last Quarter Moon, 10 : 09 p.m.	22 (Natural wood, tiger).	——	10 : 33 a.m.	

* Approximate, here and in similar cases hereafter.

† *Doyō* is defined in Hepburn's Dictionary as "a period of some 20 days in each of the four seasons"; *iri* means "coming in," or "beginning."

(SMALL) FEBRUARY (28 DAYS, COMMON YEAR)

NEW CALENDAR.	OLD CALENDAR—YEAR, MONTH, DAY.	MOON RISES	MOON SETS
1. Saturday.	12-23 (Wrought wood, hare).	12 : 26 a.m.	11 : 09 a.m.
Hiraoka Festival, Kawachi. Udo Festival, Hyūga.			
2. Sunday.	24 (Natural fire, dragon).	1 : 20 a.m.	11 : 49 a.m.
3. Monday.	25 (Artificial fire, serpent).	2 : 12 a.m.	12 : 32 p.m.
4. Tuesday. *Setsubun.**	26 (Natural earth, horse).	3 : 02 a.m.	1 : 20 p.m.
[Festival, offering cut paper and prayers for the year.]			
5. Wednesday.	27 (Wrought earth, goat).	3 : 50 a.m.	2 : 11 p.m.
Risshun [Rise of Spring], 2 : 38 a.m. Old Calendar, 1st month season.			
Sun rises, 6 : 40 a.m. Sun sets, 5 : 10 p.m. Day, 10 h. 30 m. Night, 13 h 30 m.			
6. Thursday.	28 (Natural metal, monkey).	4 : 35 a.m.	3 : 06 p.m.
7. Friday.	29 (Wrought metal, cock).	5 : 17 a.m.	4 : 04 p.m.
8. Saturday. Sea water, tiger-(Large)	1-1 (Sea water, dog).	5 : 57 a.m.	5 : 04 p.m.
New moon, 10 : 22 p.m.			
9. Sunday.	2 (Spring water, boar).	6 : 34 a.m.	6 : 05 p.m.
10. Monday.	3 (Natural wood, rat).	7 : 09 a.m.	7 : 08 p.m.
11. Tuesday. Kigen-setsu.	4 (Wrought wood, ox).	7 : 44 a.m.	8 : 11 p.m.
12. Wednesday. Shijōnawate Festival, Kawachi.	5 (Natural fire, tiger).	8 : 20 a.m.	9 : 15 p.m.
13. Thursday.	6 (Artificial fire, hare).	8 : 57 a.m.	10 : 20 p.m.
14. Friday.	7 (Natural earth, dragon).	9 : 38 a.m.	11 : 26 p.m.

15. Saturday.	First Quarter Moon, 11 : 57 p.m.	8 (Wrought earth, serpent).	10 : 22 a.m.	——
16. Sunday.		9 (Natural metal, horse).	11 : 11 a.m.	12 : 31 a.m.
17. Monday.	Offering cut paper, etc.	10 (Wrought metal, goat).	12 : 05 p.m.	1 : 34 a.m.
18. Tuesday.		11 (Sea water, monkey).	1 : 05 p.m.	2 : 33 a.m.
19. Wednesday.		12 (Spring water, cock).	2 : 08 p.m.	3 : 28 a.m.
	Usui [Rain Water], 10 : 40 p.m. Old Calendar, middle 1st month.			
	Sun rises, 6 : 26 a.m. Sun sets, 5 : 24 p.m. Day, 10 h. 58 m. Night, 13 h. 2 m.			
20. Thursday.		13 (Natural wood, dog).	3 : 12 p.m.	4 : 17 a.m.
21. Friday.	Emperor Ninkō's Festival.†	14 Wrought wood, boar).	4 : 17 p.m.	5 : 00 a.m.
22. Saturday.	Full Moon, 10 : 03 p.m.	15 Natural fire, rat).	5 : 20 p.m.	5 : 40 a.m.
23. Sunday.		16 (Artificial fire, ox).	6 : 22 p.m.	6 : 16 a.m.
24. Monday.		17 (Natural earth, tiger).	7 : 23 p.m.	6 : 50 a.m.
25. Tuesday.		18 (Wrought earth, hare).	8 : 21 p.m.	7 : 23 a.m.
26. Wednesday.		19 (Natural metal, dragon).	9 : 18 p.m.	7 : 57 a.m.
27. Thursday.		20 (Wrought metal, serpent).	10 : 14 p.m.	8 : 31 a.m.
28. Friday.		21 (Sea water, horse).	11 : 09 p.m.	9 : 07 a.m.

* See Note C.

† The Emperor Ninkō reigned from 1816-1847 (Murray).

(LARGE) MARCH (31 DAYS).

NEW CALENDAR.	OLD CALENDAR—YEAR, MONTH, DAY.	MOON RISES.	MOON SETS.
1. Saturday.	1-22 (Spring water, goat).	——	9 : 45 a.m.
2. Sunday. Last Quarter Moon, 7 : 39 p.m.	23 (Natural wood, monkey).	12 : 02 a.m.	10 : 27 a.m.
3. Monday.	24 (Wrought wood, cock).	12 : 53 a.m.	11 : 13 a.m.
4. Tuesday.	25 (Natural fire, dog).	1 : 42 a.m.	12 : 02 p.m.
5. Wednesday.	26 (Artificial fire, boar).	2 : 28 a.m.	12 : 54 p.m.
6. Thursday.	27 (Natural earth, rat).	3 : 11 a.m.	1 : 50 p.m.
Keichitsu [Awakening of Insects], 9 : 07 p.m. Old Calendar, 2nd month season.			
Sun rises, 6 : 08 a.m. Sun sets, 5 : 38 p.m. Day, 11 h. 31 m. Night, 12 h. 29 m.			
7. Friday.	28 (Wrought earth, ox).	3 : 51 a.m.	2 : 49 p.m.
8. Saturday.	29 (Natural metal, tiger).	4 : 29 a.m.	3 : 50 p.m.
9. Sunday.	30 (Wrought metal, hare).	5 : 06 a.m.	4 : 53 p.m.
10. Monday. New Moon, 11 : 50 a.m. (Small).	2-1 (Sea water, dragon).	5 : 42 a.m.	5 : 57 p.m.
11. Tuesday.	2 (Spring water, serpent).	6 : 18 a.m.	7 : 02 p.m.
12. Wednesday.	3 (Natural wood, horse).	6 : 56 a.m.	8 : 09 p.m.
13. Thursday. Kasuga Festival, Yamato.	4 (Wrought wood, goat).	7 : 36 a.m.	9 : 16 p.m.
14. Friday.	5 (Natural fire, monkey).	8 : 20 a.m.	10 : 23 p.m.
15. Saturday.	6 (Artificial fire, cock).	9 : 09 a.m.	11 : 27 p.m.
16. Sunday. Hirota Festival, Settsu.	7 (Natural earth, dog).	10 : 02 a.m.	——
17. Monday. First Quarter Moon, 7 : 13 a.m.	8 (Wrought earth, boar).	11 : 00 a.m.	12 : 28 a.m.

18. Tuesday. Usa Festival, Buzen.	9 (Natural metal, rat).	12 : 01 p.m.	1 : 24 a.m.
Higan [Opposite shore, or Nirvana, or Paradise—Buddhist.]			
19. Wednesday.	10 (Wrought metal, ox).	1 : 04 p.m.	2 : 13 a.m.
20. Thursday.	11 (Sea water, tiger).	2 : 07 p.m.	2 : 58 a.m.
21. Friday. Spring Festival (s).	12 (Spring water, hare).	3 : 09 p.m.	3 : 38 a.m.
Shumbun [Vernal Equinox], 10 : 16 p.m. Old Calendar, middle 2nd month.			
Sun rises, 5 : 47 a.m. Sun sets, 5 : 51 p.m. Day, 12 h. 5 m. Night. 11 h. 55 m.			
22. Saturday.	13 (Natural wood, dragon).	4 : 10 p.m.	4 : 14 a.m.
23. Sunday.	14 (Wrought wood, serpent).	5 : 10 p.m.	4 : 49 a.m.
24. Monday. Full Moon, 12 : 21 p.m.	15 (Natural fire, horse).	6 : 09 p.m.	5 : 22 a.m.
25. Tuesday.	16 (Artificial fire, goat).	7 : 07 p.m.	5 : 55 a.m.
26. Wednesday. Shanichi.*	17 (Natural earth, monkey).	8 : 03 p.m.	6 : 29 a m.
27. Thursday.	18 (Wrought earth, cock).	8 : 59 p.m.	7 : 04 a.m.
28. Friday.	19 (Natural metal, dog).	9 : 53 p.m.	7 : 42 a.m.
29. Saturday.	20 (Wrought metal, boar).	10 : 44 p.m.	8 : 23 a.m.
30. Sunday.	21 (Sea water, rat).	11 : 34 p.m.	9 : 07 a.m.
31. Monday.	22 (Spring water, ox).	——	9 : 54 a.m.

* On this day all the gods are on the earth; therefore, the ground must not be dug for fear of cutting the heads of the deities! Or, "supposed to be lucky to do farm work" (Brinkley's Dictionary). Which is correct? Also see Sept. 22.

(SMALL) APRIL (30 DAYS).

NEW CALENDAR.	OLD CALENDAR—YEAR, MONTH, DAY.	MOON RISES.	MOON SETS.
1. Tuesday. Yamato Festival, Yamato. Last Quarter Moon, 3 : 24 p.m.	2-23 (Natural wood, tiger).	12 : 20 a.m.	10 : 45 a.m.
2. Wednesday. Matsuo and Hirano Festivals, Yamashiro.	24 (Wrought wood, hare).	1 : 04 a.m.	11 : 38 a.m.
3. Thursday. Umemiya Festival, Yamashiro. Jimmu Tennō Festival.	25 (Natural fire, dragon).	1 : 45 a.m.	12 : 35 p.m.
4. Friday. Hirose and Tatsuta Festivals, Yamato. Goō Festival, Yamashiro.	26 (Artificial fire, serpent).	2 : 23 a.m.	1 : 33 p.m.
5. Saturday.	27 (Natural earth, horse).	3 : 00 a.m.	2 : 34 p.m.
6. Sunday.	28 (Wrought earth, goat).	3 : 36 a.m.	3 : 37 p.m.
Seimei [Clear and Bright], 2 : 37 a.m. Old Calendar, 3rd month season. Sun rises, 5 : 24 a.m. Sun sets, 6 : 04 p.m. Day, 12 h. 41 m. Night, 11 h. 19 m.			
7. Monday.	29 (Natural metal, monkey).	4 : 12 a.m.	4 : 42 p.m.
8. Tuesday. New Moon, 10 : 50 p.m. (Large) Ōharano Festival, Yamashiro.	3-1 (Wrought metal, cock).	4 : 50 a.m.	5 : 49 p.m.
9. Wednesday. Inari Festival, Yamashiro. Ōkami Festival, Yamato.	2 (Sea water, dog).	5 : 30 a.m.	6 : 58 p.m.
10. Thursday.	3 (Spring water, boar).	6 : 13 a.m.	8 : 07 p.m.
11. Friday.	4 (Natural wood, rat).	7 : 02 a.m.	9 : 15 p.m.
12. Saturday.	5 (Wrought wood, ox).	7 : 55 a.m.	10 : 20 p.m.
13. Sunday.	6 (Natural fire, tiger).	8 : 53 a.m.	11 : 18 p.m.

14. Monday.	Katori Festival in Shimōsa. Hiyoshi Festival in Ōmi.	7 (Artificial fire, hare).	9 : 55 a.m.	——
15. Tuesday.	First Quarter Moon, 2 : 26 p.m.	8 (Natural earth, dragon).	10 : 58 a.m.	12 : 11 a.m.
	Hirayasu Festival, Yamashiro; Tatebe Festival, Ōmi; Kanasashi Festival, Musashi; Kamisuwa Festival, Shinano; Ikuta Festival, Settsu.			
16. Wednesday.		9 (Wrought earth, serpent).	12 : 01 p m.	12 : 57 a.m.
17. Thursday.	Tōshō Festival, Suruga.	10 (Natural metal, horse)	1 : 03 p.m.	1 : 38 a.m.
18. Friday.	Doyō, 8 : 18 a.m. Yoshida Festival, Yamashiro.	11 (Wrought metal, goat).	2 : 04 p.m.	2 : 16 a.m.
19. Saturday.		12 (Sea water, monkey.	3 : 03 p.m.	2 : 50 a.m.
20. Sunday.		13 (Spring water, cock).	4 : 01 p.m.	3 : 23 a.m.
21. Monday.		14 (Natural wood, dog).	4 : 58 p.m.	3 : 56 a.m.
	Koku-u [Cereal Rain], 10 : 04 a.m. Old Calendar, middle 3rd month. Sun rises, 5 : 04 a.m. Sun sets, 6 : 17 p.m. Day, 13 h. 13 m. Night, 10 h. 47 m.			
22. Tuesday.	Izanami Festival, Awaji. Taga Festival, Ōmi; Ryōzen Festival, Iwashiro.	15 (Wrought wood, boar).	5 : 55 p.m.	4 : 29 a.m.
23. Wednesday.	Full Moon, 3 : 50 a.m. Lunar Eclipse	16 (Natural fire, rat).	6 : 50 p.m.	5 : 03 a.m.
24. Thursday.		17 (Artificial fire, ox).	7 : 45 p.m.	5 : 40 a.m.
25. Friday.		18 (Natural earth, tiger)	8 : 38 p.m	6 : 20 a.m.
26. Saturday.		19 (Wrought earth, hare).	9 : 28 p.m.	7 : 02 a.m.
27. Sunday.		20 (Natural metal, dragon).	10 : 15 p.m.	7 : 48 a.m.
28. Monday.		21 (Wrought metal, serpent).	11 : 00 p.m.	8 : 38 a.m.
29. Tuesday.	Komikado Festival, Shimōsa.	22 (Sea water, horse).	11 : 41 p.m.	9 : 30 a.m.
30. Wednesday.		23 (Spring water, goat).	——	10 : 24 a.m.

(LARGE) MAY (31 DAYS).

NEW CALENDAR.	OLD CALENDAR—YEAR, MONTH, DAY.	MOON RISES.	MOON SETS.
1. Thursday. Last Quarter Moon, 7 : 58 a.m. Yūki Festival, Ise.	3-24 (Natural wood, monkey).	12 : 19 a.m.	11 : 20 a.m.
2. Friday.	25 (Wrought wood, cock).	12 : 56 a.m.	12 : 19 p.m.
3. Saturday. 88th night.	26 (Natural fire, dog).	1 : 31 a.m.	1 : 19 p.m.
4. Sunday.	27 (Artificial fire, boar).	2 : 06 a.m.	2 : 22 p.m.
5. Monday. Ōkunidama Festival, Musashi. Kikuchi Festival, Higo.	28 (Natural earth, rat).	2 : 42 a.m.	3 : 27 p.m.
6. Tuesday. Kanazaki Festival, Echizen. Yasukuni Festival, Musashi.*	29 (Wrought earth, ox).	3 : 21 a.m.	4 : 34 p.m.
Rikka [Rise of Summer], 8 : 38 p.m. Old Calendar, 4th month season. Sun rises, 4 : 47 a.m. Sun sets, 6 : 29 p.m. Day, 13 h. 43 m. Night, 10 h. 17 m.			
7. Wednesday. Nawa Festival, Hōki.	30 (Natural metal, tiger).	4 : 02 a.m.	5 : 44 p.m.
8. Thursday. New Moon, 7 : 45 a.m. (Small)	4-1 (Wrought metal, hare).	4 : 49 a.m.	6 : 54 p.m.
9. Friday.	2 (Sea water, dragon).	5 : 41 a.m.	8 : 02 p.m.
10. Saturday.	3 (Spring water, serpent).	6 : 39 a.m.	9 : 06 p.m.
11. Sunday.	4 (Natural wood, horse).	7 : 41 a.m.	10 : 03 p.m.
12. Monday Tokiwa Festival, Hitachi.	5 (Wrought wood, goat).	8 : 46 a.m.	10 : 54 p.m.
13. Tuesday.	6 (Natural fire, monkey).	9 : 52 a.m.	11 : 38 p.m.
14. Wednesday. First Quarter Moon, 10 : 40 p.m. Offering new raiment to gods. Izumo Festival, Izumo.	7 (Artificial fire, cock).	10 : 56 a.m.	——

15. Thursday.	{Upper / Lower} Kamo Festival, Yamashiro.	8 (Natural earth, dog).	11 : 58 a.m.	12 : 17 a.m.
16. Friday.		9 (Wrought earth, boar).	12 : 57 p.m.	12 : 52 a.m.
17. Saturday.	Hajō Festival, Ryūkyū.†	10 (Natural metal, rat).	1 : 56 p.m.	1 : 26 a.m.
18. Sunday.		11 (Wrought metal, ox).	2 : 53 p.m.	1 : 58 a.m.
19. Monday.		12 (Sea water, tiger).	3 : 49 p.m.	2 : 31 a.m.
20. Tuesday.		13 (Spring water, hare).	4 : 45 p.m.	3 : 04 a.m.
21. Wednesday.		14 (Natural wood, dragon).	5 : 39 p.m.	3 : 40 a.m.
22. Thursday.	Full moon, 7 : 46 p.m.	15 (Wrought wood, serpent).	6 : 32 p.m	4 : 18 a.m.
	Shōman [Little Filling], 9 : 53 a m. Old Calendar, middle 4th month.			
	Sun rises, 4 : 33 a.m. Sun sets, 6 : 42 p.m. Day, 14 h. 9 m. Night, 9 h. 51 m.			
23. Friday.		16 (Natural fire, horse).	7 : 24 p.m.	5 : 00 a.m.
24. Saturday.		17 (Artificial fire, goat).	8 : 12 p.m.	5 : 45 a.m.
25. Sunday.		18 (Natural earth, monkey).	8 : 58 p.m.	6 : 33 a.m.
26. Monday.		19 (Wrought earth, cock).	9 : 40 p.m.	7 : 24 a.m.
27. Tuesday.		20 (Natural metal, dog).	10 : 19 p.m.	8 : 17 a.m.
28. Wednesday.		21 (Wrought metal, boar).	10 : 56 p.m.	9 : 13 a.m.
29. Thursday.		22 (Sea water, rat).	11 : 30 p.m.	10 : 09 a.m.
30. Friday.	Last Quarter Moon, 9 p.m.	23 (Spring water, ox).	——	11 : 07 a.m.
31. Saturday.		24 (Natural wood, tiger).	12 : 04 a.m.	12 : 07 p.m.

* The festival of the famous temple called Shōkonsha, on the top of Kudan Hill, Tōkyō. Also on Nov. 6. This is especially for those who have died in battle. † Loo Choo Islands. *Hajō* means literally "on the top of the waves."

(SMALL) JUNE (30 DAYS).

NEW CALENDAR.	OLD CALENDAR—YEAR, MONTH, DAY.	MOON RISES.	MOON SETS.
1. Sunday. Kibune Festival, Yamashiro.	4-25 (Wrought wood, hare).	12 : 39 a.m.	1 : 09 p.m.
Lower Kibukawa-kami Festival, Yamato. Tōshō Festival, Shimotsuke			
2. Monday.	26 (Natural fire, dragon).	1 : 15 a.m.	2 : 13 p.m.
3. Tuesday.	27 (Artificial fire, serpent).	1 : 53 a.m.	3 : 20 p.m.
4. Wednesday. Sending offerings cut paper to Ise.	28 (Natural earth, horse).	2 : 36 a.m.	4 : 29 p.m.
5. Thursday.	29 (Wrought earth, goat).	3 : 25 a.m.	5 : 39 p.m.
6. Friday. New Moon, 3 : 11 p.m. (Small)	5-1 (Natural metal, monkey).	4 : 20 a.m.	6 : 46 p.m.
7. Saturday.	2 (Wrought metal, cock).	5 : 21 a.m.	7 : 48 p.m.
Bōshu [Grain in Ear], 1 : 20 a.m. Old Calendar, 5th month season			
Sun rises, 4 : 27 a.m. Sun sets, 6 : 53 a.m. Day, 14 h. 26 m. Night, 9 h. 34 m.			
8. Sunday.	3 (Sea water, dog).	6 : 26 a.m.	8 : 43 p.m.
9. Monday.	4 (Spring water, boar).	7 : 34 a.m.	9 : 32 p.m.
10. Tuesday.	5 (Natural wood, rat).	8 : 41 a.m.	10 : 15 p.m.
11. Wednesday.	6 (Wrought wood, ox).	9 : 46 a.m.	10 : 53 p.m.
12. Thursday. Rainy season (*Nyūbai*).	7 (Natural fire, tiger).	10 : 49 a.m.	11 : 28 p.m.
13. Friday. First Quarter Moon, 8 : 54 a.m.	8 (Artificial fire, hare).	11 : 49 a.m.	——
14. Saturday.	9 (Natural earth, dragon).	12 : 47 p.m.	12 : 01 a.m.
15. Sunday. Sapporo Festival, Ishikari	10 (Wrought earth, serpent).	1 : 44 p.m.	12 : 33 a.m.
Yasaka Festival, Yamashiro. Hie Festival, Musashi.			

16. Monday.	11 (Natural metal, horse).	2 : 39 p.m.	1 : 07 a.m.
17. Tuesday. Offerings cut paper, etc.	12 (Wrought metal, goat).	3 : 34 p.m.	1 : 41 a.m.
18. Wednesday.	13 (Sea water, monkey).	4 : 28 p.m.	2 : 19 a.m.
19. Thursday.	14 (Spring water, cock).	5 : 20 p.m.	2 : 59 a.m.
20. Friday.	15 (Natural wood, dog).	6 : 09 p.m.	3 : 42 a.m.
21. Saturday. Full Moon, 11 : 17 a.m	16 (Wrought wood, boar).	6 : 56 p.m.	4 : 29 a.m.
Atsuta Festival, Owari.			
22. Sunday.	17 (Natural fire, rat).	7 : 40 p.m.	5 : 20 a.m.
Geshi [Summer Solstice], 6 : 15 a.m. Old Calendar, middle 5th month.			
Sun rises, 4 : 27 a.m. Sun sets, 6 : 58 p.m. Day, 14 h. 32 m. Night, 9 h. 28 m.			
23. Monday.	18 (Artificial fire, ox).	8 : 20 p.m.	6 : 12 a.m.
24. Tuesday.	19 (Natural earth, tiger).	8 : 58 p.m.	7 : 07 a.m.
25. Wednesday.	20 (Wrought earth, hare).	9 : 33 p.m.	8 : 03 a.m.
26. Thursday.	21 (Natural metal, dragon).	10 : 07 p.m	9 : 01 a.m.
27. Friday.	22 (Wrought metal, serpent).	10 : 40 p.m.	9 : 59 a.m.
28. Saturday.	23 (Sea water, horse).	11 : 14 p.m.	10 : 59 a.m.
29. Sunday. Last Quarter Moon, 6 : 52 a.m.	24 (Spring water, goat).	11 : 50 p.m.	12 noon.
30. Monday. Ōbarai (See Dec. 31).	25 (Natural wood, monkey).	——	1 : 04 p.m.
Suminoye Festival,* Settsu.			

* Held on every Hare Day.

(LARGE) JULY (31 DAYS).

NEW CALENDAR.	OLD CALENDAR—YEAR, MONTH, DAY.	MOON RISES.	MOON SETS.
1. Tuesday. Kenkun Festival, Yamashiro.	5-26 (Wrought wood, cock).	12 : 29 a.m.	2 : 10 p.m.
2. Wednesday.	27 (Natural fire, dog).	1 : 14 a.m.	3 : 17 p.m.
3. Thursday. Half Summer Beginning.*	28 (Artificial fire, boar).	2 : 04 a.m.	4 : 24 p.m.
4. Friday.	29 (Natural earth, rat).	3 : 01 a.m.	5 : 28 p.m.
5. Saturday. New Moon, 9 : 59 p.m. (Large)	6-1 (Wrought earth, ox).	4 : 04 a.m.	6 : 27 p.m.
6. Sunday.	2 (Natural metal, tiger).	5 : 11 a.m.	7 : 20 p.m.
7. Monday.	3 (Wrought metal, hare).	6 : 20 a.m.	8 : 07 p.m.
8. Tuesday.	4 (Sea water, dragon).	7 : 28 a.m.	8 : 48 p.m.
Shōsho [Little Heat], 11 : 46 a.m. Old Calendar, 6th month season.			
Sun rises, 4 : 33 a.m. Sun sets, 6 : 58 p.m. Day, 14 h. 26 m. Night, 9 h. 34 m.			
9. Wednesday.	5 (Spring water, serpent).	8 : 33 a.m.	9 : 26 p.m.
10. Thursday.	6 (Natural wood, horse).	9 : 36 a.m.	10 : 01 p.m.
11. Friday.	7 (Wrought wood, goat).	10 : 37 a.m.	10 : 34 p.m.
12. Saturday. First Quarter Moon, 9 : 47 p.m.	8 (Natural fire, monkey).	11 : 35 a.m.	11 : 08 p.m.
Minato-gawa Festival, Settsu.			
13. Sunday.	9 (Artificial fire, cock).	12 : 32 p.m.	11 : 43 p.m.
14. Monday.	10 (Natural earth, dog).	1 : 28 p.m.	——
15. Tuesday. Gassan Festival, Uzen.	11 (Wrought earth, boar).	2 : 22 p.m.	12 : 19 a.m.
16. Wednesday.	12 (Natural metal, rat).	3 : 15 p.m.	12 : 58 a.m.

17. Thursday.	13 (Wrought metal, ox).	4 : 05 p.m.	1 : 40 a.m.
18. Friday.	14 (Sea water, tiger).	4 : 53 p.m.	2 : 26 a.m.
19. Saturday.	15 (Spring water, hare).	5 : 38 p.m.	3 : 15 a.m.
20. Sunday.	16 (Natural wood, dragon).	6 : 20 p.m.	4 : 07 a.m.
21. Monday. Full Moon, 1 : 45 a.m. Doyō, 1 : 44 a.m.			
	17 (Wrought wood, serpent)	6 : 59 p.m.	5 : 02 a.m.
22. Tuesday.	18 (Natural fire, horse)	7 : 35 p.m.	5 : 58 a.m.
23. Wednesday.	19 (Artificial fire, goat).	8 : 10 p.m.	6 : 55 a.m.
24. Thursday.	20 (Natural earth, monkey).	8 : 43 p.m.	7 : 53 a.m.
Taisho [Great Heat], 5 : 10 a.m. Old Calendar, Middle 6th month.			
Sun rises, 4 : 43 a.m. Sun sets, 6 : 51 p.m. Day, 14 h. 8 m. Night, 9 h. 52 m.			
25. Friday.	21 (Wrought earth, cock).	9 : 17 p.m.	8 : 53 a.m.
26. Saturday.	22 (Natural metal, dog).	9 : 52 p.m.	9 : 53 a.m.
27. Sunday.	23 (Wrought metal, boar)	10 : 29 p.m.	10 : 55 a.m.
28. Monday. Last Quarter Moon, 2 : 15 p.m.	24 (Sea water, rat).	11 : 10 p.m.	11 : 58 a.m.
Aso Festival, Higo.			
29. Tuesday.	25 (Spring water, ox).	11 : 56 p.m.	1 : 03 p.m.
30. Wednesday.	26 (Natural wood, tiger).	——	2 : 08 p.m.
31. Thursday.	27 (Wrought wood, hare).	12 : 48 a.m.	3 : 12 p.m.

* "The eleventh day after the summer solstice, regarded as the last limit for seed-sowing."—Brinkley's Dictionary.

(LARGE) AUGUST (31 DAYS).

NEW CALENDAR.	OLD CALENDAR—YEAR, MONTH, DAY.	MOON RISES.	MOON SETS.
1. Friday. Hikawa Festival, Musashi. Shimo-suwa Festival, Shinano.	6-28 (Natural fire, dragon).	1 : 46 a.m.	4 : 12 p.m.
2. Saturday.	29 (Artificial fire, serpent).	2 : 50 a.m.	5 : 07 p.m.
3. Sunday. Yatsushiro Festival, Higo.	30 (Natural earth, horse).	3 : 57 a.m.	5 : 56 p.m.
4. Monday. New Moon, 5 : 17 a.m. (Small) Kitano Festival, Yamashiro.	7-1 (Wrought earth, goat).	5 : 05 a.m.	6 : 41 p.m.
5. Tuesday.	2 (Natural metal, monkey).	6 : 13 a.m.	7 : 21 p.m.
6. Wednesday.	3 (Wrought metal, cock).	7 : 18 a.m.	7 : 57 p.m.
7. Thursday.	4 (Sea water, dog).	8 : 21 a.m.	8 : 33 p.m.
8. Friday.	5 (Spring water, boar).	9 : 22 a.m.	9 : 07 p.m.
Risshū [Rise of Autumn], 9 : 22 p.m. Old Calendar, 7th month season. Sun rises, 4 : 54 a.m. Sun sets, 6 : 38 p.m. Day, 13 h. 44 m. Night, 10 h. 16 m.			
9. Saturday.	6 (Natural wood, rat).	10 : 21 a.m.	9 : 42 p.m.
10. Sunday. Awa Festival, Awa.	7 (Wrought wood, ox).	11 : 18 a.m.	10 : 18 p.m.
11. Monday. First Quarter Moon, 1 : 24 p.m.	8 (Natural fire, tiger).	12 : 13 p.m.	10 : 56 p.m.
12. Tuesday.	9 (Artificial fire, hare).	1 : 07 p.m.	11 : 37 p.m.
13. Wednesday. Ōtori Festival, Izumi.	10 (Natural earth, dragon).	1 : 59 p.m.	——
14. Thursday.	11 (Wrought earth, serpent).	2 : 48 p.m.	12 : 22 a.m.
15. Friday. Kagoshima Festival, Ōsumi. Hakozaki Festival, Chikuzen.	12 (Natural metal, horse).	3 : 34 p.m.	1 : 09 a.m.

16. Saturday. Mishima Festival, Izu.	13 (Wrought metal, goat).	4 : 17 p.m.	2 : 00 a.m.
17. Sunday.	14 (Sea water, monkey).	4 : 57 p.m.	2 : 54 a.m.
18. Monday.	15 (Spring water, cock).	5 : 35 p.m.	3 : 50 a.m.
19. Tuesday. Full Moon, 3 : 03 p.m.	16 (Natural wood, dog).	6 : 11 p.m.	4 : 47 a.m.
20. Wednesday. Kamakura Festival, Sagami.	17 (Wrought wood, boar),	6 : 45 p.m.	5 : 46 a.m.
21. Thursday.	18 (Natural fire, rat).	7 : 20 p.m.	6 : 46 a.m.
22. Friday.	19 (Artificial fire, ox).	7 : 55 p.m.	7 : 47 a.m.
23. Saturday.	20 (Natural earth, tiger).	8 : 31 p.m.	8 : 49 a.m.
24. Sunday.	21 (Wrought earth, hare).	9 : 11 p.m.	9 : 52 a.m.
Shosho [Limit of Heat], 11 : 53 a.m. Old Calendar, middle 7th month.			
Sun rises, 5 : 07 a.m. Sun sets, 6 : 20 p.m. Day, 13 h. 13 m. Night, 10 h. 47 m.			
25. Monday. Dazaifu Festival, Chikuzen.	22 (Natural metal, dragon).	9 : 55 p.m.	10 : 56 a.m.
Fujishima Festival, Echizen.			
26. Tuesday. Last Quarter Moon, 8 : 05 p.m.	23 (Wrought metal, serpent).	10 : 44 p.m.	12 : 00 noon.
27. Wednesday.	24 (Sea water, horse).	11 : 38 p.m.	1 : 02 p.m.
28. Thursday.	25 (Spring water, goat).	——	2 : 02 p.m.
29. Friday.	26 (Natural wood, monkey).	12 : 38 a.m.	2 : 57 p.m.
30. Saturday.	27 (Wrought wood, cock).	1 : 42 a.m.	3 : 48 p.m.
31. Sunday.	28 (Natural fire, dog).	2 : 48 a.m.	4 : 33 p.m.

(SMALL) SEPTEMBER (30 DAYS).

NEW CALENDAR.	OLD CALENDAR—YEAR, MONTH, DAY.	MOON RISES.	MOON SETS.
1. Monday. Kashima Festival, Hitachi.	7-29 (Artificial fire, boar).	3 : 54 a.m.	5 : 14 p.m.
2. Tuesday. New Moon, 2 : 19 p.m.	(Large) 8-1 (Natural earth, rat).	4 : 59 a.m.	5 : 52p.m.
210th Day.			
3. Wednesday.	2 (Wrought earth, ox).	6 : 03 a.m.	6 : 29 p.m.
4. Thursday. Kehi Festival, Echizen.	3 (Natural metal, tiger).	7 : 06 a.m.	7 : 04 p.m.
5. Friday.	4 (Wrought metal, hare).	8 : 06 a.m.	7 : 39 p.m.
6. Saturday.	5 (Sea water, dragon).	9 : 05 a.m.	8 : 15 p.m.
7. Sunday.	6 (Spring water, serpent).	10 : 02 a.m.	8 : 53 p.m.
8. Monday.	7 (Natural wood, horse).	10 : 59 a.m.	9 : 33 p.m.
Hakuro [White Dew], 11 : 46 p.m. Old Calendar, 8th month season.			
Sun rises, 5 : 18 a.m. Sun sets, 5 : 59 p.m, Day, 12 h. 41 m. Night, 11 h. 19 m.			
9. Tuesday. Ikukunitama Festival, Settsu.	8 (Wrought wood, goat).	11 : 50 a.m.	10 : 16 p.m.
10. Wednesday. First Quarter Moon, 7 : 15 a.m.	9 (Natural fire, monkey).	12 : 40 p.m.	11 : 03 p.m.
11. Thursday.	10 (Artificial fire, cock).	1 : 27 p.m.	11 : 52 p.m.
12. Friday. [220th Day].	11 (Natural earth, dog).	2 : 11 p.m.	——
13. Saturday. Kamado-yama Festival, Kii.	12 (Wrought earth, boar).	2 : 53 p.m.	12 : 44 a.m.
14. Sunday.	13 (Natural metal, rat).	3 : 31 p.m.	1 : 39 a.m.
15. Monday. Otokoyama Festival, Yamashiro.	14 (Wrought metal, ox).	4 : 08 p.m.	2 : 36 a.m.
Ishigami Festival, Yamato.			

16. Tuesday.	15 (Sea water, tiger),	4 : 43 p.m.	3 : 34 a.m.
17. Wednesday.	16 (Spring water, hare).	5 : 18 p.m.	4 : 34 a.m.
18. Thursday. Full Moon, 3 : 23 a.m. Toyokuni Festival, Yamashiro.	17 (Natural wood, dragon).	5 : 54 p.m.	5 : 35 a.m.
19. Friday. Kirishima Festival, Ōsumi.	18 (Wrought wood, serpent).	6 : 31 p.m.	6 : 38 a.m.
20. Saturday.	19 (Natural fire, horse).	7 : 11 p.m.	7 : 42 a.m.
21. Sunday. *Higan* [See March 18.] Shirane Festival, Yamashiro.	20 (Artificial fire, goat).	7 : 54 p.m.	8 : 47 a.m.
22. Monday. Iitani Festival, Tōtomi. *Shanichi.**	21 (Natural earth, monkey).	8 : 42 p.m.	9 : 52 a.m.
23. Tuesday.	22 (Wrought earth, cock).	9 : 35 p.m.	10 : 56 a.m.
24. Wednesday. Fall Festivals. *Shūbun* [Autumnal Equinox], 8 : 55 a.m. Sun rises, 5 : 31 a.m. Sun sets, 5 : 36 p.m.	23 (Natural metal, dog). Old Calendar, middle 8th month. Day, 12 h. 5 m. Night, 11 h. 55 m.	10 : 32 p.m.	11 : 56 a.m.
25. Thursday. Last Quarter Moon, 1 : 32 a.m.	24 (Wrought metal, boar).	11 : 34 p.m.	12 : 53 p.m.
26. Friday. Hinozaki and Kunikake Festivals, Kii.	25 (Sea water, rat).	——	1 : 43 p.m.
27. Saturday. Yoshino Festival, Yamato.	26 (Spring water, ox).	12 : 38 a.m.	2 : 29 p.m.
28. Sunday. Eigensan Festival, Buzen.	27 (Natural wood, tiger).	1 : 42 a.m.	3 : 11 p.m.
29. Monday.	28 (Wrought wood, hare).	2 : 46 a.m.	3 : 49 p.m.
30. Tuesday.	29 (Natural fire, dragon).	3 : 49 a.m.	4 : 26 p.m.

* See Note on March 26.

(LARGE) OCTOBER (31 DAYS).

NEW CALENDAR.	OLD CALENDAR—YEAR, MONTH, DAY.	MOON RISES.	MOON SETS.
1. Wednesday. Toyosaka Festival, Suwō.	8-30 (Artificial fire, serpent).	4 : 51 a.m.	5 : 01 p.m.
2. Thursday. New Moon, 2 : 09 a.m. (Small)	9-1 (Natural earth, horse).	5 : 52 a.m.	5 : 36 p.m.
3. Friday.	2 (Wrought earth, goat).	6 : 51 a.m.	6 : 12 p.m.
4. Saturday.	3 (Natural metal, monkey).	7 : 49 a.m.	6 : 49 p.m.
5. Sunday.	4 (Wrought metal, cock).	8 : 46 a.m.	7 : 29 p.m.
6. Monday.	5 (Sea water, dog).	9 : 40 a.m.	8 : 11 p.m.
7. Tuesday. Akama Festival, Nagato.	6 (Spring water, boar).	10 : 31 a.m.	8 : 56 p.m.
8. Wednesday. Kami Nibukawa Kami Festival, Yamato.	7 (Natural wood, rat).	11 : 20 a.m.	9 : 44 p.m.
9. Thursday.	8 (Wrought wood, ox).	12 : 05 p.m.	10 : 35 p.m.
Kanro [Cold Dew], 2 : 45 p.m. Old Calendar, 9th month season. Sun rises, 5 : 42 a.m. Sun sets, 5 : 14 p.m. Day, 11 h. 32 m. Night, 12 h. 28 m.			
10. Friday. First Quarter Moon, 2 : 21 a.m. Nashiki Festival, Yamashiro.	9 (Natural fire, tiger).	12 : 47 p.m.	11 : 28 p.m.
11. Saturday. Umi Festival, Harima.	10 (Artificial fire, hare).	1 : 26 p.m.	——
12. Sunday.	11 (Natural earth, dragon).	2 : 03 p.m.	12 : 23 a.m.
13. Monday.	12 (Wrought earth, serpent).	2 : 39 p.m.	1 : 19 a.m.
14. Tuesday. [See May 14].	13 (Natural metal, horse).	3 : 14 p.m.	2 : 18 a.m.
15. Wednesday.	14 (Wrought metal, goat).	3 : 49 p.m.	3 : 19 a.m.

16. Thursday.	15 (Sea water, monkey).	4 : 26 p.m.	4 : 21 a.m.
17. Friday. Full Moon, 3 : 01 p.m.	16 (Spring water, cock).	5 : 05 p.m.	5 : 26 a.m.
Kanname Festival [Literally "god-tasting festival"].			
18. Saturday. Osada Festival, Settsu.	17 (Natural wood, dog).	5 : 48 p.m.	6 : 32 a.m.
19. Sunday.	18 (Wrought wood, boar).	6 : 36 p.m.	7 : 39 a.m.
20. Monday.	19 (Natural fire, rat),	7 : 28 p.m.	8 : 45 a.m.
21. Tuesday. *Doyō*, 5 : 17 p.m.	20 (Artificial fire, ox).	8 : 26 p.m.	9 : 49 a.m.
22. Wednesday.	21 (Natural earth, tiger).	9 : 28 p.m.	10 : 48 a.m.
23. Thursday.	22 (Wrought earth, hare).	10 : 31 p.m.	11 : 41 a.m.
24. Friday. Last Quarter Moon, 7 : 58 a.m.	23 (Natural metal, dragon).	11 : 35 p.m.	12 : 29 p.m.
Sōkō [Frost Fall], 5 : 36 p.m. Old Calendar, middle 9th month.			
Sun rises, 5 : 56 a.m. Sun sets, 4 : 55 p.m. Day, 10 h. 59 m. Night, 13 h. 1 m.			
25. Saturday. Karasawa Yama Festival, Shimotsuke.	24 (Wrought metal, serpent).	——	1 : 11 p.m.
26. Sunday. Miyazaki Festival, Hyūga.	25 (Sea water, horse).	12 : 39 a.m.	1 : 50 p.m.
27. Monday.	26 (Spring water, goat).	1 : 41 a.m.	2 : 26 p.m.
28. Tuesday. Terukuni Festival, Satsuma.	27 (Natural wood, monkey).	2 : 42 a.m.	3 : 01 p.m.
29. Wednesday. Kashii Festival, Chikuzen.	28 (Wrought wood, cock).	3 : 42 a.m.	3 : 35 p.m.
30. Thursday.	29 (Natural fire, dog),	4 : 41 a.m.	4 : 10 p.m.
31. Friday. New Moon, 5 : 14 p.m. (Large)	10-1 (Artificial fire, boar).	5 : 59 a.m.	4 : 46 p.m.

(SMALL) NOVEMBER (30 DAYS).

NEW CALENDAR.	OLD CALENDAR—YEAR, MONTH, DAY.	MOON RISES.	MOON SETS.
1. Saturday.	10:2 (Natural earth, rat).	6 : 36 a.m.	5 : 25 p.m.
2. Sunday.	3 (Wrought earth, ox).	7 : 31 a.m.	6 : 06 p.m.
3. Monday. Emperor's Birthday.	4 (Natural metal, tiger).	8 : 24 a.m.	6 : 50 p.m.
4. Tuesday. Asama Festival, Suruga.	5 (Wrought metal, hare).	9 : 14 a.m.	7 : 37 p.m.
5. Wednesday.	6 (Sea water, dragon).	10 : 00 a.m.	8 : 27 p.m.
6. Thursday. Yasukuni Festival, Musashi.	7 (Spring water, serpent).	10 : 43 a.m.	9 : 18 p.m.
7. Friday.	8 (Natural wood, horse).	11 : 23 a.m.	10 : 12 p.m.
8. Saturday. First Quarter Moon, 9 : 31 p.m.	9 (Wrought wood, goat).	12 noon.	11 : 07 p.m.
Rittō [Rise of Winter], 5 : 18 p.m. Old Calendar, 10th month season.			
Sun rises, 6 : 10 a.m. Sun sets, 4 : 39 p.m. Day, 10 h. 29 m. Night, 13 h. 31 m.			
9. Sunday.	10 (Natural fire, monkey).	12 : 36 p.m.	——
10. Monday. Niiname Festival—cut paper.	11 (Artificial fire, cock).	1 : 10 p.m.	12 : 03 a.m.
11. Tuesday.	12 (Natural earth, dog).	1 : 44 p.m.	1 : 01 a.m.
12. Wednesday.	13 (Wrought earth, boar).	2 : 19 p.m.	2 : 02 a.m.
13. Thursday.	14 (Natural metal, rat).	2 : 57 p.m.	3 : 04 a.m.
14. Friday.	15 (Wrought metal, ox).	3 : 38 p.m.	4 : 10 a.m.
15. Saturday. Kisagata and Kamado Festivals, Chikuzen.	16 (Sea water, tiger).	4 : 23 p.m.	5 : 17 a.m.
16. Sunday. Full Moon, 2 : 07 a.m.	17 (Spring water, hare).	5 : 15 p.m.	6 : 25 a.m.

17. Monday. Tansan Festival, Yamato.	18 (Natural wood, dragon).	6 : 12 p.m.	7 : 33 a.m.
18. Tuesday.	19 (Wrought wood, serpent).	7 : 15 p.m.	8 : 36 a.m.
19. Wednesday.	20 (Natural fire, horse).	8 : 20 p.m.	9 : 34 a.m.
20. Thursday.	21 (Artificial fire, goat).	9 : 26 p.m.	10 : 25 a.m.
21. Friday.	22 (Natural earth, monkey).	10 : 31 p.m.	11 : 11 a.m.
22. Saturday. Last Quarter Moon, 4 : 47 p.m. Festival for Repose of Souls.	23 (Wrought earth, cock).	11 : 35 p.m.	11 : 51 a.m.
23. Sunday. Niiname* Festival.	24 (Natural metal, dog),	——	12 : 28 p.m.
Shōsetsu [Little Snow], 2 : 25 p.m. Old Calendar, middle 10th month. Sun rises, 6 : 25 a.m. Sun sets, 4 : 29 p.m. Day, 10 h. 4 m. Night, 13 h. 56 m.			
24. Monday.	25 (Wrought metal, boar).	12 : 36 a.m.	1 : 03 p.m.
25. Tuesday.	26 (Sea water, rat).	1 : 36 a.m.	1 : 37 p.m.
26. Wednesday.	27 (Spring water, ox).	2 : 35 a.m.	2 : 11 p.m.
27. Thursday.	28 (Natural wood, tiger).	3 : 32 a.m.	2 : 46 p.m.
28. Friday.	29 (Wrought wood, hare).	4 : 29 a.m.	3 : 24 p.m.
29. Saturday.	30 (Natural fire, dragon).	5 : 24 a.m.	4 : 03 p.m.
30. Sunday. New Moon, 11 : 04 a.m. (Large)	11-1 (Artificial fire, serpent).	6 : 18 a.m.	4 : 46 p.m.

* Literally, "new tasting."

(LARGE) DECEMBER (31 DAYS).

NEW CALENDAR.	OLD CALENDAR—YEAR, MONTH, DAY.	MOON RISES.	MOON SETS.
1. Monday.	11-2 (Natural earth, horse).	7 : 09 a.m.	5 : 32 p.m.
2. Tuesday.	3 (Wrought earth, goat).	7 : 57 a.m.	6 : 21 p.m.
3. Wednesday.	4 (Natural metal, monkey).	8 : 41 a.m.	7 : 12 p.m.
4. Thursday. [See June 4].	5 (Wrought metal, cock).	9 : 22 a.m.	8 : 04 p.m.
5. Friday.	6 (Sea water, dog).	10 : 00 a.m.	8 : 58 p.m.
6. Saturday. Emperor Momozono II's Festival.*	7 (Spring water, boar).	10 : 35 a.m.	9 : 53 p.m.
7. Sunday. Minase Festival, Settsu.	8 (Natural wood, rat).	11 : 09 a.m.	10 : 49 p.m.
8. Monday. First Quarter Moon, 3 : 27 p.m.	9 (Wrought wood, ox).	11 : 42 a.m.	11 : 47 p.m.
Taisetsu [Great Snow], 9 : 41 a.m. Old Calendar, 11th month season.			
Sun rises, 6 : 39 a.m. Sun sets, 4 : 26 p.m. Day 9 h. 48 m. Night, 14 h. 12 m.			
9. Tuesday.	10 (Natural fire, tiger).	12 : 16 p.m.	——
10. Wednesday.	11 (Artificial fire, hare).	12 : 51 p.m.	12 : 46 a.m.
11. Thursday.	12 (Natural earth, dragon).	1 : 28 p.m.	1 : 48 a.m.
12. Friday. Emperor Kōkaku's Festival.†	13 (Wrought earth, serpent).	2 : 10 p.m.	2 : 53 a.m.
13. Saturday.	14 (Natural metal, horse).	2 : 58 p.m.	4 : 00 a.m.
14. Sunday.	15 (Wrought metal, goat).	3 : 52 p.m.	5 : 08 a.m.
15. Monday. Full Moon, 12 : 47 p.m.	16 (Sea water, monkey).	4 : 53 p.m.	6 : 15 a.m.
16. Tuesday.	17 (Spring water, cock).	5 : 59 p.m.	7 : 17 a.m.
17. Wednesday. [See June 17].	18 (Natural wood, dog).	7 : 07 p.m.	8 : 14 a.m.

18. Thursday.		19 (Wrought wood, boar).	8 : 16 p.m.	9 : 04 a.m.
19. Friday.		20 (Natural fire, rat).	9 : 23 p.m.	9 : 49 a.m.
20. Saturday.		21 (Artificial fire, ox).	10 : 27 p.m.	10 : 28 a.m.
21. Sunday.		22 (Natural earth, tiger).	11 : 29 p.m.	11 : 05 a.m.
22. Monday.	Last Quarter Moon, 5 a.m.	23 (Wrought earth, hare).	——	11 : 40 a.m.
23. Tuesday.		24 (Natural metal, dragon).	12 : 29 a.m.	12 : 14 p.m.
Tōji [Winter Solstice], 3 : 36 a.m. Old Calendar, middle 11th month.				
Sun rises, 6 : 49 a.m. Sun sets, 4 : 31 p.m. Day, 9 h. 42 m. Night, 14 h. 18 m.				
24. Wednesday.		25 (Wrought metal, serpent).	1 : 27 a.m.	12 : 49 p.m.
25. Thursday.		26 (Sea water, horse).	2 : 24 a.m.	1 : 25 p.m.
26. Friday.		27 (Spring water, goat).	3 : 19 a.m.	2 : 03 p.m.
27. Saturday.		28 (Natural wood, monkey).	4 : 13 a.m.	2 : 45 p.m.
28. Sunday.		29 (Wrought wood, cock).	5 : 05 a.m.	3 : 29 p.m.
29. Monday.		30 (Natural fire, dog).	5 : 54 a.m.	4 : 17 p.m.
30. Tuesday.	New Moon, 6 : 25 a.m.	12-1 (Artificial fire, boar).	6 : 39 a.m.	5 : 07 p.m.
31. Wednesday.	Ōbarai.‡	2 (Natural earth, rat).	7 : 22 a.m.	5 : 59 p.m.

* The Emperor Momozono II. reigned from 1771-1780 (Murray).

† The Emperor Kōkaku reigned from 1780-1817 (Murray).

‡ "A religious ceremony performed in the Court on the last days of the 6th and 12th months (o.s.), to keep off evil influence for the coming season."—Brinkley.

TABLES FOR FINDING ONE'S AGE.

Natural wood.	Wrought wood.	Natural fire.	Artificial fire.	Natural earth.	Wrought earth.	Natural metal.	Wrought metal.	Sea water.	Spring water.
Kwansei 6	Kwansei 7	Kwansei 8	Kwansei 9	Kwansei 10	Kwansei 11	Kwansei 12	Kyōwa 1	Kyōwa 2	Kyōwa 3
(Tiger) 107	(Hare) 106	(Dragon) 105	(Serpent) 104	(Horse) 103	(Goat) 102	(Monkey) 101	(Cock) 100	(Dog) 99	(Boar) 98
Bunkwa 1	Bunkwa 2	Bunkwa 3	Bunkwa 4	Bunkwa 5	Bunkwa 6	Bunkwa 7	Bunkwa 8	Bunkwa 9	Bunkwa 10
(Rat) 97	(Ox) 96	(Tiger) 95	(Hare) 94	(Dragon) 93	(Serpent) 92	(Horse) 91	(Goat) 90	(Monkey) 89	(Cock) 88
Bunkwa 11	Bunkwa 12	Bunkwa 13	Bunkwa 14	Bunsei 1	Bunsei 2	Bunsei 3	Bonsei 4	Bunsei 5	Bunsei 6
(Dog) 87	(Boar) 86	(Rat) 85	(Ox) 84	(Tiger) 83	(Hare) 82	(Dragon) 81	(Serpent) 80	(Horse) 79	(Goat) 78
Bunsei 7	Bunsei 8	Bunsei 9	Bunsei 10	Bunsei 11	Bunsei 12	Tempō 1	Tempō 2	Tempō 3	Tempō 4
(Monkey) 77	(Cock) 76	(Dog) 75	(Boar) 74	(Rat) 73	(Ox) 72	(Tiger) 71	(Hare) 70	(Dragon) 69	Serpent 68
Tempō 5	Tempō 6	Tempō 7	Tempō 8	Tempō 9	Tempō 10	Tempō 11	Tempō 12	Tempō 13	Tempō 14
(Horse) 67	(Goat) 66	(Monkey) 65	(Cock) 64	(Dog) 63	(Boar) 62	(Rat) 61	(Ox) 60	(Tiger) 59	(Hare) 58
Kōkwa 1	Kōkwa 2	Kōkwa 3	Kōkwa 4	Kaei 1	Kaei 2	Kaei 3	Kaei 4	Kaei 5	Kaei 6
(Dragon) 57	(Serpent) 56	(Horse) 55	(Goat) 54	(Monkey) 53	(Cock) 52	(Dog) 51	(Boar) 50	(Rat) 49	(Ox) 48
Ansei 1	Ansei 2	Ansei 3	Ansei 4	Ansei 5	Ansei 6	Manen 1	Bunkyū 1	Bunkyū 2	Bunkyū 3
(Tiger) 47	(Hare) 46	(Dragon) 45	(Serpent) 44	(Horse) 43	(Goat) 42	(Monkey) 41	(Cock) 40	(Dog) 39	(Boar) 38
Genji 1	Keiō 1	Keiō 2	Keiō 3	Meiji 1	Meiji 2	Meiji 3	Meiji 4	Meiji 5	Meiji 6
(Rat) 37	(Ox) 36	(Tiger) 35	(Hare) 34	(Dragon) 33	(Serpent) 32	(Horse) 31	(Goat) 30	(Monkey) 29	(Cock) 28
Meiji 7	Meiji 8	Meiji 9	Meiji 10	Meiji 11	Meiji 12	Meiji 13	Meiji 14	Meiji 15	Meiji 16
(Dog) 27	(Boar) 26	(Rat) 25	(Ox) 24	(Tiger) 23	(Hare) 22	(Dragon) 21	(Serpent) 20	(Horse) 19	(Goat) 18
Meiji 17	Meiji 18	Meiji 19	Meiji 20	Meiji 21	Meiji 22	Meiji 23	Meiji 24	Meiji 25	Meiji 26
(Monkey) 17	(Cock) 16	(Dog) 15	(Boar) 14	(Rat) 13	(Ox) 12	(Tiger) 11	(Hare) 10	(Dragon) 9	Serpent) 8
Meiji 27	Meiji 28	Meiji 29	Meiji 30	Meiji 31	Meiji 32	Meiji 33	Meiji 34	Meiji 35	
(Horse) 7	(Goat) 6	(Monkey) 5	(Cock). 4	(Dog) 3	(Boar) 2	(Rat) 1	(Ox)	(Tiger)	

	Jan.	Feb.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Born in Jan.	1 yr. 1 mo.	1 yr. 2 mos.	1 yr. 3 mos.	1 yr. 4 mos.	1 yr. 5 mos.	1 yr. 6 mos.	1 yr. 7 mos.	1 yr. 8 mos.	1 yr. 9 mos.	1 yr. 10 mos.	1 yr. 11 mos.	2 yrs. (full).
Born in Feb.	1yr. (full).	1 yr. 1 mo.	1 yr. 2 mos.	1 yr. 3 mos.	1 yr. 4 mos.	1 yr. 5 mos.	1 yr. 6 mos.	1 yr. 7 mos.	1 yr. 8 mos.	1 yr. 9 mos.	1 yr. 10 mos.	1 yr. 11 mos.
Born in March.	11 mos.	1 yr. (full).	1 yr. 1 mo.	1 yr. 2 mos.	1 yr. 3 mos.	1 yr. 4 mos.	1 yr. 5 mos.	1 yr. 6 mos.	1 yr. 7 mos.	1 yr. 8 mos.	1 yr. 9 mos.	1 yr. 10 mos.
Born in April.	10 mos.	11 mos.	1 yr. (full).	1 yr. 1 mo.	1 yr. 2 mos.	1 yr. 3 mos.	1 yr. 4 mos.	1 yr. 5 mos.	1 yr. 6 mos.	1 yr. 7 mos.	1 yr. 8 mos.	1 yr. 9 mos.
Born in May.	9 mos.	10 mos.	11 mos.	1 yr. (full).	1 yr. 1 mo.	1 yr. 2 mos.	1 yr. 3 mos.	1 yr. 4 mos.	1 yr. 5 mos.	1 yr. 6 mos.	1 yr. 7 mos.	1 yr. 8 mos.
Born in June.	8 mos.	9 mos.	10 mos.	11 mos.	1 yr. (full).	1 yr. 1 mo.	1 yr. 2 mos.	1 yr. 3 mos.	1 yr. 4 mos.	1 yr. 5 mos.	1 yr. 6 mos.	1 yr. 7 mos.
Born in July.	7 mos.	8 mos.	9 mos.	10 mos.	11 mos.	1 yr. (full).	1 yr. 1 mo.	1 yr. 2 mos.	1 yr. 3 mos.	1 yr. 4 mos.	1 yr. 5 mos.	1 yr. 6 mos.
Born in Aug.	6 mos.	7 mos.	8 mos.	9 mos.	10 mos.	11 mos.	1 yr. (full).	1 yr. 1 mo.	1 yr. 2 mos.	1 yr. 3 mos.	1 yr. 4 mos.	1 yr. 5 mos.
Born in Sept.	5 mos.	6 mos.	7 mos.	8 mos.	9 mos.	10 mos.	11 mos.	1 yr. (full).	1 yr. 1 mos.	1 yr. 2 mos.	1 yr. 3 mos.	1 yr. 4 mos.
Born in Oct.	4 mos.	5 mos.	6 mos.	7 mos.	8 mos.	9 mos.	10 mos.	11 mos.	1 yr. (full).	1 yr. 1 mo.	1 yr. 2 mos.	1 yr. 3 mos.
Born in Nov.	3 mos.	4 mos.	5 mos.	6 mos.	7 mos.	8 mos.	9 mos.	10 mos.	11 mos.	1 yr. (full).	1 yr. 1 mo.	1 yr. 2 mos.
Born in Dec.	2 mos.	3 mos.	4 mos.	5 mos.	6 mos.	7 mos.	8 mos.	9 mos.	10 mos.	11 mos.	1 yr. (full).	1 yr. 1 mo.

The following explanation of these tables may be useful. In the upper table which is arranged according to the sexagesimal cycle, each square contains the name of the year period, the number of the year in that period, the zoölogical name of the year, and finally the number of years to be used in computation as reckoned from *last year.* For instance, the upper left hand corner square refers to the 6th year of Kwansei [1794], which was Tiger Year and 107 years before the 34th year of Meiji [1901]. Then the second table gives the amount of the addition to be made to bring up the reckoning to the present. Let us try the tables in the case of a person born Feb. 21,1860 [the 1st year of Manen]. Searching in the upper table for Manen, we obtain the figure 41; and, looking at the lower table, we find that one born in February must add one full year to bring it up to January of the current year. Therefore, according to these tables, we are informed that the above mentioned person would be 42 years old in January of this year. That, however, is according to the inclusive method of reckoning the months; although the years do not seem to have been reckoned in that way. Of course, by the exact Occidental method of reckoning, he would not be 42 full years old till Feb. 21, 1902.

This subject of age brings up many interesting points. In the first place, it is pretty generally known, that in Japan the birthday of the "individual was not considered of sufficient importance to be celebrated; and that ages were computed from New Year's Day, which thus become a kind of national birthday. And, as Japanese reckoning was inclusive, a child born on the last day of a year would be considered two years old on the first day of the next year, because he had lived in both of those years. Therefore, in case of inquiring a person's age, it would be very important to

know whether the reply gave "Japanese years" or full years." Ignorance or forgetfulness of this distinction has often led to mistakes, and quite serious ones in the case of historical records, chronicles and genealogical tables. The inclusive reckoning must also be carefully noted in such expressiom as "ten days ago," "ten days later," "for ten days," etc., which may mean what Occidentals would express by "eleven days." We may state right here, what has undoubtedly occurred to the reader before this, that Japanese reckonings are quite indefinite according to the Occidental point of view, and present difficulties in the way of mathematical accuracy.

There are also superstition about ages. Some persons, for instance, "are averse to a marriage between those whose ages differ by three or nine years. A man's nativity also influences the direction in which he should remove; and his age may permit his removal one year and absolutely forbid it the next." There are also critical years in a person's life, such as the 7th, 25th, 42nd and 61st years for a man and the 7th, 8th, 33rd, 42nd and 61st years for a woman. "A child born in its father's forty-first year will be the cause of his death unless abandoned."* We have heard a similar story to the effect that a child born (or begotten?) in the father's forty-third year is supposed to be possessed of a devil. When such a child is about one month old, it is, therefore, exposed for about three hours in some sacred place. Some member or friend of the family then goes to get it, and bringing it to the parents, says: "This is a child whom I have found and whom you would better take and bring up." Thus, having fooled the devil, the parents receive their own child

* Inouye's "Sketches of Tokyo Life."

back. In one such case, the babe was neglected and exposed too long, so that he has not yet fully recovered from the illness which followed. He is a graduate of the Duncan Baptist Academy, Tokyo.

Note A.

We are under great obligations, in the preparation of this paper, to Mr. Y. Morise for translations; to Mr. I. Morikubo for explanations; to Mr. Ken Saito, of the Imperial Museum, and to Mr. H. Yamada, for drawings.

Note B.

Some of these national holidays are explained under the month in which they occur; but a few words are added here in farther explanation. *Kigen-setsu*, for instance, was originally a festival in honor of the ascension of Jimmu, the first Emperor, to the throne, and was thus the anniversary of the establishment of the Old Empire; but it is now observed also as the celebration of the promulgation of the constitution (Feb. 11, 1889), and is thus the anniversary of the establishment of the New Empire. The Jimmu Tennō Sai of April 3 is the so-called anniversary of the death of that Emperor. The Kanname Festival in September celebrates the offering of first-fruits to the ancestral deities, and the Niiname Festival in October celebrates the tasting of those first-fruits by the Emperor. The Spring and Autumn Festivals, in March and September, are adaptations of the Buddhist equinoctial festivals of the dead, and are especially observed for the worship of the Imperial ancestors.

NOTE C.

This has been called "New Year's Eve" as well as the last night of winter. It will be noticed that, in this case, the last night of the old year [o. c.] is three nights further on; but once in two or three years both winter and the old year go out at the same time. *Setsubun* is the time when in every house beans are scattered around to scare away the devils, and the following formula is also supposed to be effective:

*Oni wa soto Fuku wa uchi:**

"Out with the devils, In with good fortune."

This is also the occasion when "each person present eats one more [bean] than the number of the years of his age." The food eaten then is known as *azukimeshi*, and it consists of red beans mixed with rice. This was also eaten in olden times on the 1st, 15th and 28th of each month, which were the "three days" (*sanjitsu*) then regularly observed as holidays. For a fuller description of *Setsubun* see Hearn's "Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan," Vol. II., pp. 498-503: and for interesting notes on the New Year's Festival see pp. 493-498 of the some volume.

NOTE D.

We append also some miscellaneous items bearing on the various branches of our subject. We learn, for instance, from "Tosa Nikki" the following:

It was the yearly custom in ancient times to bring horses to the capital, for the sovereign's use, from the various places where they were reared to suit his purpose. The time seems

* But in shipping and express companies it is unlucky to repeat the upper stanza, because *o-ni* may mean "honorable freight" or "baggage"!

to have been the 7th day of the 1st month and the 15th day of the eighth month. White horses, as befitting one of "divine origin," were the only kind in request at this period.

Other items are on the authority of Dr. W. E. Griffis. In pouring out oil for the lamp during *kan** (the coldest part of winter, late January or early February), if by accident even a single drop of oil is spilled on the flour, some damage will be done by fire to the house. This, however, may be averted by sprinkling a few drops of water on the head of the spiller of the oil. *Kanshoku* is the name of "about the 105th day after the winter solstice, so-called from the universal custom in China of abstaining from cooked food on that day" (Brinkley).

On New Year's Day, merchants shut the stores of their store-houses, lest good-fortune depart. People never sweep the floor on that day, lest good luck be also swept away, [And the writer of this paper was once warned that he must not take medicine or consult a doctor on New Year's Day, because such acts would portend a year of illness].

At New Year's Day, pater-familias does not like any one to utter the sound *shi* (death) or any word containing it. This is a difficult matter in a household, since the syllable *shi* has over a dozen different meanings, and occurs in several hundred Japanese words, some of them very common. Thus let us suppose a family of husband, wife, child and servant, numbering four (*shi*). A visitor calls, and happens to use the words *Shiba* (a city district in Tokyo), *shi* (teacher, poem, four, to do, etc.) The host, at first merely angry with the visitor who so forcibly uses the sinister

* When *kan* (cold) or *sho* (heat) comes later than its calendar date, it is called *zankan* or *zansho*, "left-over cold" or "heat."

words, is incensed when the latter happens to remark that his host's household consists of four, and wishes him gone. Moodily reflecting on his visitor's remark, he resolves to dismiss his servant and so make his household three. But the shrewd servant, named Fuku, remonstrates with his master for sending away *fuku* (blessing, luck) from his house. The master is soothed.

New Year's Day was called *sangen* (three beginnings), because it was the beginning of a year, a month and a day. From Inouye's "Sketches of Tōkyō Life" we learn that aged persons provide against failing memory by passing through seven different shrine-gates on the spring or autumn equinox. An incantation against noxious insects, written with an infusion of India ink in liquorice water on the eighth day of the fourth moon, Buddha's birth-day, will prevent their entrance at every doorway or window where it is posted.

The 16th of January and the 16th of July were and are special holidays for servants and apprentices. The 16th of the 6th month—called *Kajō*, and the 1st of the 10th month—called *Genjō*—were also festivals. At the time of the winter-solstice doctors would worship the Chinese Esculapius. "The foot-wear left outside on the night of the winter equinox should be thrown away; he who wears them will shorten his own life. If you cut a bamboo on a moonlight night, you will find a snake in the hollow of it between the third and fourth joints." "During an eclipse of the sun or moon, people carefully cover the wells, as they suppose that poison falls from the sky during the period of the obscuration." "If on the night of the second day of the First Month one dreams of the *takara-bune* (treasure-ship), he shall become a rich man." "The child of three years keeps his heart till he is sixty." "Any

thing is useful after three years." "A sixth day camellia" refers to any thing that is too late, because the flower should be brought on the fifth day. The first "dog day" and the third "dog-day" in July are days for eating special cakes. "The Third Dog-day is considered by the peasantry a turning point in the life of the crops. Eels are eaten on any day of the Bull [*Doyō no Ushi*] that may occur during this period of greatest heat."* The 17th of each month is a regular holiday for Tokyo barbers. There is a proverb that "the gossip of men even [lasts only] 75 days."

The first days of the 1st, 6th and 8th months were celebrated by the Tokugawa government. In olden times there were certain fixed days for holding the markets, "a fact permanently recorded in the names given to some of the market sites, as for example, the towns of Yokkaichi and Itsukaichi (fourth day market and fifth day market)." We find also Futsuka-ichi, Mikka-machi, Muika-machi, Nanuka-ichi, Yōka-ichiba and Tōka-ichiba.

Other "specially appointed festive occasions" were the following: "entertainments in April (third month of the old calendar), when wine cups were floated down stream; or in February (first month of the old calendar) when young pines, growing on the hills or in the fields, were pulled up by the roots; or in the fall, to view the changing tints of the maples." And to the *go-sekku* were originally added the festival of the "late moonlight" (13th day of the 9th month) and the festival of the "last chrysanthemums."

The guards of the gates of the Shōgun's castle in Yedo were divided into bands which took turns as follows:—At the Chujaku Gate each of the six bands was to be on duty for a day and night,

* See Chamberlain's "Things Japanese" under "Festivals."

by turn: the first band on rat and horse days; the second, on ox and sheep [goat] days; the third, on tiger and monkey days; the fourth, on hare and bird [cock] days; the fifth, on dragon and dog days; and the sixth, on snake [serpent] and hog [boar] days." At the Naka Gate, "each of the five bands was to be on duty for a day and night, by turns, once on every five days." The Ote-San Gate was guarded by only four bands, each of which "was to be on duty for a day and night, by turn: the first band, or the *Koga-gumi*, on rat, dragon and monkey days; the second band, or the *Negoro-gumi*, on ox, snake and bird days; the third band, or the *Iga-gumi*, on horse, dog and tiger days; and the fourth band, or the *Kita-goki-gumi*, on hare, hog and sheep days."†

"The hog [boar] day of the 10th month," "the 3rd day of the 1st month" and "any special festive day" might be used for a performance of the *Nō* Dance.

In reckoning the hours, a distinction was sometimes made between the morning and the evening as follows: *ake-mutsu* (6 a.m.) and *kure-mutsu* (6 p.m.).

Nijūroku-ya-machi (twenty-sixth evening waiting) is the name applied to "the custom of sitting up on the night of the 26th of the 7th month (*o.s.*), to witness the rise of the moon, supposed to be efficacious for securing longevity" (Brinkley's Dictionary).

Misoka (thirtieth day) was specially set apart for the payment of the bills of the month; and the name was loosely applied to the twenty-ninth day, just as it is now loosely applied to the thirty-first day: in other words the name came to mean the last day of each month. The last day of each year is called *Ōmisoka* (Great Thirtieth Day).

† From "The 36 Gates of the Shōgun's Castle in Yedo."

" It was customary to wear a wadded garment (*wata-ire*) from the ninth day of the ninth month,* and socks from the tenth day, but September, the ninth month of the new calendar, being warm, the old practice no longer obtains." On the festival of the ninth day of the ninth month, people, with a view to lengthening their life and averting calamity, drank *sake* flavored with the flowers of the chrysanthemum (*kiku*), and consequently called *kiku-zake*. Chestnuts, sometimes mixed up with boiled rice, were eaten on the same day; but the ninth month of the present calendar can boast neither chestnuts nor chrysanthemums, so this custom is departed. On the thirteenth day of the same month, people in general and poets in particular, made a point of admiring the moon, the former presenting offerings of rice-cakes (*dango*), and the latter composing verses in her honor. This practice is said to have commenced about 1,000 years ago, in the reign of Uda Tennō."†

" The twentieth day of the tenth month of the old calendar was that chosen by merchants and shopkeepers for a merry-making, under the patronage of Ebisu, the God of wealth and guardian of markets. At one end of the room in which they met to spend the evening, there was hung a picture of Ebisu, with a huge perch under his arm, and a fishing-rod in his hand, and to this was offered the favorite fish *tai*—a kind of perch, *sake*, and round cakes of *mochi*. As the feast proceeded, one would seize on any article that lay handy—such as a cup or a bowl—hold it aloft, and demand a fancy price for it, say 100 or 1,000 dollars. Another would grasp at the offer, and the mock bargain would be completed amidst the clapping of hands, the transaction being taken as a

* See also Vol. XIII., Pt. 1, pp. 6,7 of the Transactions of this Society.

† From "The Japanese Months."

fore-shadowing of success in the making of real bargains in the future."*

"The 15th of November is a day of some importance to the little folks. The heads of children are generally shaved, until they are about three years old, according to Japanese reckoning, which counts a part of a year as a whole year. But after this, beginning from the fifteenth of November, a tuft of hair is allowed to grow on the top of the head. From the same day, a boy of five years old is allowed to wear trousers (*hakama*) on state occasions, and a girl of seven may put on the broad sash or girdle (*obi*), which is so important an article of feminine attire. An entertainment in the evening celebrates the attainment of any of the foregoing privileges, known respectively as *kamioki*, *hakamagi* and *obitoki*. Infants born during the preceding twelve months are taken on this day to a Shintō shrine, where the mother performs an act of worship."*

Another such ceremony is known as *gembuku*, at the age of 15, when a youth "donned for the first time a man's clothes and changed his name."

"On each of the two Bird days† that come in November, there is held in Tokyo a fair called *Tori-no-Ichi* (Bird Fair), visitors to which are generally seen returning with a bamboo rake in their hand. This rake, called *kumade* (Bear's Paw), is ornamented with imitation account books, and with paper figures of the Gods of Fortune, the tortoise, the crane and other emblems of success or prosperity; and the rake itself, being an instrument used for drawing things together, sets forth the grasping and gathering together of things that are prized in this life. The keepers of restaurants and houses of entertainment purchase and display a

* "The Japanese Months." † Cock Days.

larger kind of rake than other people. The fair is held at Ōtori-jinsha, in Shitaya, Tokyo, and one or two other places."*

This part of the subject is still further illustrated by the following extract from Mrs. Flora Best Harris's "Log of a Japanese Journey," which is a translation of Tsurayuki's "Tosa Nikki":—

"Happening to notice how long my nails had grown on shipboard, I counted the days and discovered that it is the day of the Rat.† As it is not the proper time, I have not cut them.

"Remembering that the day of the Rat in the first month is a holiday at the capital [Kyōto], I felt anxious to celebrate it, but in default of a pine-tree, could not do as I desired.

"A certain woman tried to compose a stanza on the occasion, but being on shipboard, the theme proved a difficult one, so that the lines have little merit.

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* "The Japanese Months."

† "The 'day of the Rat' in the first month was a holiday which the people celebrated by procuring young pines which they planted with much rejoicing as emblems of long and happy life. As Tsurayuki found the day an inappropriate one for cutting his nails, the reader may be glad to know that cutting the finger-nails was perfectly proper on the day of the Ox, and that the day of the Tiger could be devoted to cutting the toe-nails.'*

In this connection we append the following paragraph from the chapter of "Vulgar Errors" in Sir Thomas Browne's "Religio Medici":—The set and statary time of paring of nails and cutting of hair is thought by many a point of consideration; which is perhaps but the continuation of an ancient superstition. For piaculous it was unto the Romans to pare their nails upon the Nundinae, observed every ninth day; and was also feared by others in certain days of the week, according to that of Ausonius, "*Ungues Mercurio, barbam Jove, Cypride crines*," and was one part of the wickedness that filled up the measure of Manasses, when 'tis delivered that "he observed times" (II Chron. 33 : 6).

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* See Vol. XIII, Pt. 1, pp. 15, 16 of T. A. S. J.; and Vol. VIII, Pt. 4. pp. 442, 445, 446, 447.

"'Whether this day can really be
The day of the Rat is a puzzle.—Ah me!
Were a fish-wife but here, she might drag from the water
A sea-pine to cheer us with festival glee.'"

Japanese children would welcome certain festival days on account of special feasts on such occasions, as, for instance, in addition to those already mentioned, the following are found: boiled red beans and rice (*azuki-meshi*) on days sacred to Inari Sama; "rice-flour cakes wrapped in the leaves of a species of oak called *kashiwa*" at the Boys' Festival; and *sake* on almost all occasions, "with a spray of peach blossom inserted in the bottle" at the Girls' Festival. And *mochi* (the rice-flour cake mentioned above) is the special food of the New Year's season. as well as of many other festal occasions.

"To dream of riches with a picture of Daikoku purchased at a temple under the head, on the day of the Rat, * * *, is certain to bring an accession of fortune within a year."

The Occidental "sweet sixteen" may be found in the Japanese *musume nihachi* (a girl twice eight:) but there is also a proverb that "even a devil is pretty at eighteen," and another of "even a dragon at twenty."

The indefiniteness of Japanese time-reckoning and the dilatoriness of the people are further illustrated by the practical meaning of such phrases as *tadaima* (just now), *sugu ni* (directly), *jiki ni* (immediately), *hayaku* (early), etc., which must not be taken literally!*

Another almanac which I saw gave the following dates for sowing grain in 1902: Early rice, March 21; Middling rice, April 6; millet, April 21; buckwheat, June 22; wheat, Aug. 24.

* See also poem on page 69.

Note E.

Brinkley's Dictionary gives the following explanation of *eto*:—"*Kinoe* (甲), tree; *kinoto* (乙), herb; *hinoe* (丙), fire; *hinoto* (丁), charcoal fire; *tsuchinoe* (戊), earth; *tsuchinoto* (己), earthen ware; *kanoe* (庚), coin; *kanoto* (辛), hardware; *mizunoe* (壬), sea water; *mizunoto* (癸), stream." Others distinguish "upper" and "lower;" or "male" and "female;" or "elder brother" and "younger brother;" or "great" and "small."

The following explanation is from Loureiro's "Anglo-Chinese Calendar":—

Ki-no-e=growing tree.	*Ki-no-to*=hewn timber.
Hi-no-e=lightning.	*Hi-no-to*=burning incense.
Tsuchi-no-e=hills.	*Tsuchi-no-to*=earthenware.
Ka-no-e=ore.	*Ka-no-to*=kettles.
Mizu-no-e=salt water.	*Mizu-no-to*=spring water.

Note F.

The almanac which was chiefly used in the preparation of this paper contained a loose slip giving general directions for ascertaining the lucky and the unlucky days, dates, directions, etc., *i.e.*, for telling one's fortune. We began to work it out, but soon found that, in order to make the subject at all intelligible, it could not be briefly dismissed, but required more investigation than we had time to undertake. In fact, Japanese divination is an immense subject by itself.*

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* See Vol. XII, Pt. 4, pp. 471, 472 of the Transactions of this Society.

NOTE G.

We append for reference the following:—

LIST OF YEAR PERIODS.*

Name.	Japanese Era.†	Christian Era.	Name.	Japanese Era.	Christian Era.
Taikwa	1305	645	Tenan	1517	857
Hakuchi	1310	650	Jōgwan	1519	859
(Blank)	1315-1331	655-671	Gwangiō	1537	877
Sujaku	1332	672	Ninna	1545	885
Hakuhō	1332	672	Kwampei	1549	889
Shuchō	1346	686	Shōtai	1558	898
(Blank)	1347-1360	687-700	Engi	1561	901
Daihō [Taihō]	1361	701	Enchō	1583	923
Keiun	1364	704	Jōhei	1591	931
Wadō	1368	708	Tengiō	1598	938
Reiki	1375	715	Tenriaku	1607	947
Yōrō	1377	717	Tentoku	1617	957
Jinki	1384	724	Ōwa	1621	961
Tembiō	1389	729	Kōhō	1624	964
Tembiō shōhō	1409	749	Anna	1628	968
Tembiō hoji	1417	757	Tenroku	1630	970
Tembiō jingo	1425	765	Ten-en	1633	973
Jingo keiun	1427	767	Jōgen	1636	976
Hōki	1430	770	Tengen	1638	978
Tenō	1441	781	Eikwan	1643	983
Enriaku	1442	782	Kwanna	1645	985
Daido	1466	806	Eien	1647	987
Kōnin	1470	810	Eiso	1649	989
Tenchō	1484	824	Shōriaku	1650	990
Jōwa	1494	834	Chōtoku	1655	995
Kajō	1508	848	Chōhō	1659	999
Ninju	1511	851	Kwankō	1664	1004
Saiko	1514	854	Chōwa	1672	1012

* From official sources. † From 660 B. C.

Name.	Japanese Era.	Christian Era.	Name.	Japanese Era.	Christian Era.
Kwannin	1677	1017	Kōji	1802	1142
Ji-an	1681	1021	Tenyō	1804	1144
Manju	1684	1024	Kiū-an	1805	1145
Chōgen	1688	1028	Nimbiō	1811	1151
Chōriaku	1697	1037	Kiūju	1814	1154
Chōkiū	1700	1040	Hōgen	1816	1156
Kwantoku	1704	1044	Heiji	1819	1159
Eijō	1706	1046	Eiriaku	1820	1160
Tengi	1713	1053	Ōhō	1821	1161
Kōhei	1718	1058	Chōkwan	1823	1163
Jiriaku	1725	1065	Eiman	1825	1165
Enkiū	1729	1069	Ninan	1826	1166
Jōhō	1734	1074	Ka-ō	1829	1169
Jōriaku	1737	1077	Jō-an	1831	1171
Eihō	1741	1081	Angen	1835	1175
Ōtoku	1744	1084	Jishō	1837	1177
Kwanji	1747	1087	Yōwa	1841	1181
Kahō	1754	1094	Ju-ei	1842	1182
Eichō	1756	1096	Genriaku	1844	1184
Jōtoku	1757	1097	Bunji	1845	1185
Kowa	1759	1099	Kenkiū	1850	1190
Chōji	1764	1104	Shōji	1859	1199
Kajō	1766	1106	Kennin	1861	1201
Tennin	1768	1108	Genkiū	1864	1204
Tenei	1770	1110	Kenei	1866	1206
Eikiū	1773	1113	Jōgen	1867	1207
Genei	1778	1118	Kenriaku	1871	1211
Hōan	1780	1120	Kempō	1873	1213
Tenji	1784	1124	Jōkiū	1879	1219
Daiji	1786	1126	Jō-ō	1882	1222
Tenjō	1791	1131	Gennin	1884	1224
Chōjō	1792	1132	Karoku	1885	1225
Hōen	1795	1135	Antei	1887	1227
Eiji	1801	1141	Kwangi	1889	1229

Name.	Japanese Era.	Christian Era.	Name.	Japanese Era.	Christian Era.
Jō-ei	1892	1232	Gentoku	1989	1329
Tempuku	1893	1233	Shōkiō [Genkō]	1992	1332
Bunriaku	1894	1234	Kemmu	1994	1334
Katei	1895	1235	Rekiō	1998	1338*
Riakunin	1898	1238	Kōei	2002	1342*
En-ō	1899	1239	Jōwa	2005	1345*
Ninji	1900	1240	Kwanō	2010	1350*
Kwangen	1903	1243	Bunna	2012	1352*
Hōji	1907	1247	Embun	2016	1356*
Kenchō	1909	1249	Kōan	2021	1361*
Kōgen	1916	1256	Jōji	2022	1362*
Shōka	1917	1257	Ōan	2028	1368*
Shōgen	1919	1259	Eiwa	2035	1375*
Bunō	1920	1260	Kōreki	2039	1379*
Kōchō	1921	1261	Eitoku	2041	1381*
Bunei	1924	1264	Shitoku	2044	1384*
Kenji	1935	1275	Kakei	2047	1387*
Kōan	1938	1278	Koō	2049	1389*
Shō-ō	1948	1288	Engen	1996	1336†
Einin	1953	1293	Kōkoku	1999	1340†
Shōan	1959	1299	Shōhei	2006	1346†
Kengen	1962	1302	Kentoku	2030	1370†
Kagen	1963	1303	Bunchū	2032	1372†
Tokuji	1966	1306	Tenju	2035	1375†
Enkiō	1968	1308	Kōwa	2041	1381†
Ōchō	1971	1311	Genchū	2044	1384†
Shōwa	1972	1312	Meitoku	2050	1390
Bumpō	1977	1317	Ō-ei	2054	1394
Gen-ō	1979	1319	Shōchō	2088	1428
Genkō	1981	1321	Eikiō	2089	1429
Shōchū	1984	1324	Kakitsu	2101	1441
Kariaku	1986	1326	Bunan	2104	1444

* Northern Dynasty. † Southern Dynasty.

Name.	Japanese Era.	Christian Era.
Hōtoku	2109	1449
Kōtoku	2112	1452
Kōshō	2115	1455
Chōroku	2117	1457
Kwanshō	2120	1460
Bunshō	2126	1466
Ōnin	2127	1467
Bummei	2129	1469
Chōkō	2147	1487
Entoku	2149	1489
Mei-ō	2152	1492
Bunki	2161	1501
Eishō	2164	1504
Dai-ei	2181	1521
Kōroku	2188	1528
Tembun	2192	1532
Kōji	2215	1555
Eiroku	2218	1558
Genki	2230	1570
Tenshō	2233	1573
Bunroku	2252	1592
Keichō	2256	1596
Genna	2275	1615
Kwanei	2284	1624
Shōhō	2304	1644
Kei-an	2308	1648
Jō-ō	2312	1652
Meireki	2315	1655
Manji	2318	1658
Kwambun	2321	1661
Empō	2333	1673
Tenna	2341	1681
Jōkiō	2344	1684
Genroku	2348	1688
Hō-ei	2364	1704
Shōtoku	2371	1711
Kiōhō	2376	1716
Gembun	2396	1736
Kwampō	2401	1741
Enkiō	2404	1744
Kwannen	2408	1748
Hōreki	2411	1751
Meiwa	2424	1764
Anei	2432	1772
Temmei	2441	1781
Kwansei	2449	1789
Kiōwa	2461	1801
Bunkwa	2464	1804
Bunsei	2478	1818
Tempō	2490	1830
Kōkwa	2504	1844
Ka-ei	2508	1848
Ansei	2514	1854
Manen	2520	1860
Bunkiū	2521	1861
Genji	2524	1864
Kei-ō	2525	1865
Meiji	2528	1868

The names of these periods are made by the various combinations of 68 Chinese words of good omen.

It should be borne in mind that these year-periods [*nengō*] do not, unless accidentally, correspond with the reigns of the

Emperors, become "a new one was chosen whenever it was deemed necessary to commemorate an auspicious or ward off a malign event." But hereafter the era will correspond with the reign of an Emperor. The names of some of these eras are quite famous, like the Elizabethan or the Victorian Era in English history. As the first era was a time of great reforms, it is known as the Taikwa Reformation; the Engi Era, in the tenth century, is celebrated for important legislation; the Genroku Era, in the seventeenth century, was "a period of great activity in various arts;" and the Tempō Era, of recent days, was "the last brilliant period of feudalism before its fall." This name was also given to the large 8 *rin* piece coined in that era. The Wadō Era, in the fourteenth century, was so named on account of the discovery of copper; and the second era, Hakuchi, commemorates a "white pheasant," presented to the Emperor!

A few more illustrations of minor importance are the following*:—Taihō Statutes, Tenkei† Rebellions, Hōgen Insurrection, Heiji Insurrection, Shōkiū [Jōkiū] War, Genkō War, Kenbu [Kemmu] Statutes, *Genwa-no-Embu* (the battle-ending Era of Genwa), *Keichō-kingin* (gold and silver of the Keichō Era), "the peace of the Kyōhō Era," the Meireki conflagration, Kwansei Peace, Ansei jail, etc.

There are, moreover, other expressions which more closely resemble such common Occidental phrases as the Victorian Era, the Elizabethan Era, the Age of Pericles, except that in the impersonal Orient such expressions are named more often from places. In Japanese history, for instance, it is very common to-

* "Official History of the Empire of Japan."

† Or Tengiō.

read of the Nara Epoch, the Heian Epoch, the Muromachi Period, the Kamakura Period, the Yedo Era, the Tōkyō Period [Modern Japan]. Personal names are applied, however, in such cases as the Hōjō Era, the Ashikaga Period, the Tokugawa Era, the Fujiwara Period.

The terms "ancient," "mediæval" and "modern" may be applied to Japanese history; but those periods do not correspond chronologically with similar periods in Occidental history. Therefore, it seems better not to employ them, for fear of misleading people; at least, careful explanations should be made of their meaning.

Note H.

The official Japanese almanac contains, of course, the regular dates for the celebration of the annual, or semi-annual, festivals at various local shrines throughout the Empire. We ought, perhaps, to have supplied explanatory notes in connection with those; but we found that this task would require more time and labor than we could afford. Therefore, we can only refer the reader to Murray's "Hand-Book for Japan," in which a great deal of interesting information can be obtained about the most important shrines in the various localities.

Note I.

There are said to be poems about the zoölogical hours; but we have found only one example*:—

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* Said to have been written by the famous patriot, Kusunoki: certainly the metre is too irregular for a good poet!

Hito to nareba
Ne ni fushi tora ni
Oki-idete
Hito shiranu ma ni
Suru zo gakumon.

This may be freely and prosaically translated as follows:—
"If you would be a man, go to bed at the rat-hour, get up at the tiger-hour, and study while no one knows it: that is the way of learning."

NOTE K.

The following items about the superstitions of seasons have been obtained from a booklet by Mr. Hachihama on "Superstitious Japan" (*Meishin no Nippon*):—If one swallows seven grains of red beans (*azuki*) and one *go* of *sake* before the hour of the ox on the first day of the year, he will be free from sickness and calamity throughout the year; if he drinks *toso* [spiced *sake*] at the hour of the tiger of the same day, he will be untouched by malaria through the year; if he washes his armpits with his own urine at the hour of the tiger of the same day, he will be free from offensive smell in those parts. On the 7th day of the 1st month if a male swallows seven, and a female fourteen, red beans, they will be free from sickness all their lives; if one takes a hot bath on the same day, he will escape calamity. If one bathes at the hour of the dog on the tenth day [of the same month], his teeth will become hard. If one bathes on the 2nd day of the 2nd month in hot water into which *hiba* has been put, though he grows old, he will have no wrinkles; if one washes his hair on the first *hi-no-e* day of that month, all his illnesses will be cured; and, as fish are poisonous on the 9th day, and the *ka-no-e-tora* day, of that

month, they should not be eaten. If one bathes at sunset of the 6th day of the 3rd month, or at the hour of the monkey of the 7th day, or on the 17th day, he will escape calamity, and, moreover, will become talented; to eat salty food on the 18th day is a way to increase the reproductive powers and harden the teeth. If one bathes in the evening twilight of the 4th day of the 4th month, he will avoid litigation; if one bathes on 7th day, he will become wealthy; and in order not to injure the human energy, during this month it is well not to eat pheasant, eel, chicken and garlic. On the 5th day of the 5th month, if one eats fruit, he will fall sick, and if, in drying duckweed, it smokes, it will drive away mosquitoes; moreover, as the 5th, 6th and 7th days of that month are days of "nine poisons," men and women should refrain from intercourse, and if any violate this rule, their lives will be in danger for three years. If one bathes on the 1st day of the 6th month, he will escape sickness and calamity; but if one bathes on the 6th day, he will lose his business; and, if one pulls out white hairs on the 19th day, they will not grow out for a long time. On the 7th day of the 7th month, if one, taking sweet flag, and putting it in *sake*, takes such medicine, he will not get drunk during the year; if one bathes on the 17th day, he will not get gray hairs. If one bathes on the 3rd, 7th and last days of the 8th month, he will escape calamity, become clever and receive blessings from heaven: during this month ginger, fowls, pheasant, eggs, celery, raw fruit and raw honey must not be eaten; and if any one violates this rule, he will become sick and destroy his vitality. On the 9th day of the 9th month, if one makes *sake* with chrysanthemum blossoms, he will drive away the head-ache, and, if one swallows *hiba* in *sake*, he will not get gray hairs: if one eats ginger

this month, he will become blind, and, if one eats melon, he will become dyspeptic. Bathing with *hiba* hot water on the 1st day of the 10th month will drive away sickness; bathing on the 14th day will bring long life; moreover, this month wild boar, onion and potato must not be eaten. In the 11th month, lobster, turtle and such shell-fish must not be eaten. Bathing on the 1st, 2nd, 13th and 15th days of the 12th month, will drive away misfortune; and in the evening of the 30th, if one, offering in the kitchen a light and *miki*, worships the small-pox god, the children of that house will have small pox very lightly.

Note L.

There is also a division of the night into watches, *kō* [更], five in number, as follows:—

Shokō (First Watch)—Fifth Hour (7-9 p.m.)
Nikō (Second Watch)—Fourth Hour (9-11 p.m.)
Sankō (Third Watch)—Ninth Hour (11 p.m.-1 a.m.)
Shikō (Fourth Watch)—Eighth Hour (1-3 a.m.)
Gokō (Fifth Watch)—Seventh Hour (3-5 a.m.)

Note M.

In conclusion, although this subject of the old calendar is a very interesting one to the student of ancient customs, superstitions and folk-lore, yet we must acknowledge the force of the objections raised in the following clipping from the *Japan Mail*:—

In a note entitled "Get Rid of the Old Calendar Superstitions," the *Kyōiku Gakujutsukai* calls attention to the uselessness of perpetuating childish notions connected with the old calendar. One is surprised, says the organ we are quoting, to find newspapers

which advocate progress devoting so much valuable space to representations of the tiger this year. It is time that such things were consigned to oblivion. If the newspapers would refuse to lend themselves to the perpetuation of silly superstitions, their readers would soon grow ashamed of them. But instead of leading in this matter the press follows the lead of the unenlightened. If the old calendar and all that associates itself with it could be put out of the thoughts of the masses, a great obstacle to progress would be removed. Opening one of the almanacks published for the convenience of old-fashioned thinkers, we find notices of divination, fortune-telling, face-reading, &c. We are told how to find out what days are lucky and when those indecent festivals called *inshi matsuri* take place—in fact these publications are made the medium of perpetuating every conceivable harmful superstition and abomination. Hence it is we write, "Abolish the old calendar and all its belongings," says the *Kyōiku Gakujutsukai.*

Note N.

There seems to be a great diversity of opinion about this proverb, as the following clippings show; and other good authorities would read it "*isogeba mawari*":—

In an interesting paper read by Professor Clement before the Asiatic Society on the subject of "Japanese Calendars," the learned author adduced two proverbs to show that the Japanese "take things very leisurely and calmly." One of these was *isogeba mawaru*, which Mr. Clement translated "if in a hurry, go round," the suggestion apparently being that it is better to go round than to be in a hurry. Certainly the form *isogeba mawaru* is sometimes used, but we have always understood that the correct form is

isogeba mawaru, which is the nearest Japanese equivalent for "the more haste, the worse speed." Ōta Dokwan paraphrased the proverb clearly when he said *isogazu wa nurezaramaji wo* (if I hadn't been in a hurry, I should n't have got wet). What the proverb inculcates, in our opinion, is, not that time has little value or that punctuality is unimportant, but that haste and flurry are fatal to successful accomplishment. Undoubtedly it is a point of Japanese etiquette on no account to seem in a hurry. Just as the characteristic of a manly person was never to betray emotion (*kido airaku wo omote ye arawazu*), so the rule of the gentleman was always to be calm and cool. But does that involve indifference to the value of time, or, to speak more correctly, does it indicate that the Japanese of former days was more prodigal of his time than, let us say, the English gentleman of modern ideas, who regards it as the essence of vulgarity to be flurried or to show haste in society? It can not be denied that the men of old Japan conducted themselves on all occasions in a calm, leisurely manner, but we should be disposed to say that what they sought to avoid was the absence of baffling passion or perturbing haste rather than to make a parade of carelessness about hours and minutes. Nothing is more conceivable than that the pursuit of such a purpose should degenerate into procrastination and want of celerity, but the question here is the motive of the habit, not its abuses.—

Japan Mail.

A proverb. In another column we publish a very interesting paper on "time" in Japan which has been kindly placed at our disposal by Prof. E. W. Clement, and which, we understand, formed a portion of a lecture delivered by him at a recent meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan. As will be seen, Mr. Clement

quotes a well known saying amongst us, *isogeba maware*, in support apparently of his idea that we Japanese are, on the whole, innocent of the value of time. We venture to think that this usually well-informed author in this instance misapplies the proverb, which, freely translated, means, if in a hurry, do not make a short cut because of the possible presence of hidden dangers and unexpected hindrances, and which refers rather to the manner of attaining an object than to the question of time. It is, of course, based on the idea of time, but then in that sense its object is to emphasize the ultimate saving of time and therefore does not support Mr. Clement's notion that we are proverbial time-wasters. As for the regrettable habit of unpunctuality which still obtains largely among our people, especially on occasions of meetings and entertainments —and it is certainly not a characteristic that deserves to be defended—we may say that the custom has its origin in the idea that it is small and undignified to be eager to be before others and not in the notion that there is always plenty of time. We hope, however, that Mr. Clement will not try to contradict us here by pointing to the scenes often observable at public entertainments now-a-days when scrambles are made at the free lunch table. Such scenes are thoroughly disgraceful and we denounce them without hesitation and without qualification—indeed the habit of unpunctuality originally arose as a protest against such scenes. By the way, we notice that the *Japan Mail* is of opinion that Mr. Clement misquotes the proverb in question, its correct wording, according to that journal, being *isogeba mawaru* and not *isogeba maware*. Now the verb *mawaru* means "it turns round, it revolves," whereas *maware* signifies "go around, take a circuitous course," and so on. Thus it will be seen that the *Mail's* form

makes no sense and we think Mr. Clement is quite correct in his quotation so far as its wording goes.—*Japan Times.*

We observe that the *Japan Times* denies the correctness of our quotation in the matter of the familiar proverb, *isogeba mawaru.* Our contemporary alleges that the form *isogeba mawaru* "makes no sense," and that *isogeba mawate* is correct. Well, this is a point concerning which we can not pretend to emulate the confidence of the *Japan Times.* What we wrote in our issue of the 22nd was "certainly the form *isogeba mawate* is sometimes used but we have always understood that the correct form is *isogeba mawaru.*" As to the latter form "making no sense," we not only fail to follow the *Japan Times'* argument, but we have the direct authority of erudite Japanese for saying that *isogeba mawaru* is the correct proverbial form and that it does make excellent sense, whereas *isogeba mawate* can not properly be called a proverbial form.—*Japan Mail.*

THE LAND OF APPROXIMATE TIME.

Here's to the Land of Approximate Time!
Where nerves are a factor unknown,
Where acting as balm are manners calm,
And seeds of sweet patience are sown.

Where it is very ill-bred to go straight to the point,
Where one bargains at leisure all day,
Where with method unique "at once" means a week,
In the cool, easy Japanese way.

Where every clock runs as it happens to please,
And they never agree on their strikes;
Where even the sun often joins in the fun,
And rises whenever he likes.

Then here's to the Land of Approximate Time,
The Land of the Leisurely Bow,
Where the overcharged West may learn how to rest,
The Land of Inconsequent Now!

Jingles from Japan.

NOTE O.

Since the meeting at which this paper was read, I have had the privilege of an interview with a Japanese who has made the various calendars a special study. He is Prof. N. Sakuma, of the Higher Normal School, Tōkyō. He has a collection of almanacs running back without a break for 192 years, and, with a few breaks here and there, for 41 more years. His oldest almanac is that of 1670. He has also a large collection of works, official and unofficial, bearing upon all subjects connected with the lunar calendar. While his vocation is teaching English, his avocation, or his recreation, seems to be along astronomical lines. During the year 1900, he made out the calendars, both solar and lunar, for 1902 and 1903. He has also compiled lists and references of all solar eclipses from the earliest records in native annals to the present time. At my request, he has kindly furnished additional notes, which are appended from page 71.

An English "globe-trotter" declares, probably with injustice, that Japan "has weather, but no climate," and that the weather is most uncommonly bad. He quotes a foreign resident as saying, "I have lived ten years in Japan, of which nine and three-quarters have been wet," and concludes his unfavorable comments by "dropping into poetry."

Dirty days hath September,
April, June and November;
From February unto May
The rain it raineth every day;
All the rest have thirty-one,
Without one blessed gleam of sun.
And if any of 'em had two-and-thirty,
They'd be just as wet and twice as dirty.

By request of Prof. Clement, I propose to offer sundry remarks about the Japanese Calendar by way of supplement to his paper on that subject read by him before the members of the Asiatic Society.

At the outset, I have to mention that it is foreign to my present purpose to enter into the technique of the construction of the Japanese Calendar, though it is my own hobby, since the necessary computations involved in it are of too intricate a nature to make them a subject of popular treatment.

Now, by the Japanese Calendar I mean the one exclusively used in our country prior to the adoption of the Gregorian calendar toward the close of the 5th year of Meiji (1872 A. D.). Although it finds its place in the almanacs published year after year by the Government since that time, scarcely any use of it, if at all, has ever been made in government transactions; and besides, its use among the urban communities at large has gradually been superseded by the Gregorian reckoning. The village communities, however, still stick to its use with something like religious zeal, so that the calendar in question may not inappropriately be called the "Farmers' Calendar."

It is worth mentioning in this place that the Japanese Calendar is not lunar in the sense that the Jewish or the Mohammedan calendar is lunar, for the former takes into consideration the successive positions of the sun in the zodiac in the course of the year,—in fact, the method of intercalating months depends on that very fact,—while the latter do not take them into account. Thus, strictly speaking, the Japanese Calendar is luna-solar in its character, whereas the Jewish and Mohammedan calendars are purely lunar.

The earliest mention in the native annals of the art of making calendars occurs in the 10th year of the reign of Suiko Tennō [Empress] (602 A. D.). It is there stated that the art just referred to was introduced from Kudara in Corea. But what its special character was, and what calendar was its outcome, or rather its groundwork, the annals do not tell us; so that the whole thing is lost in obscurity.

Coming to later times, there is evidence on record that the Chinese Genkareki, that is, Genka calendar, was first adopted in the 6th year of the reign of Jitō Tennō (692 A. D.), and that it continued in use, for the space of five years, till the end of the 10th year of her reign (696 A. D.), when its error is said to have amounted to 53 *koku* [*i. e.*, 12h. 43m.] less than true time.

[This calendar was devised by a Chinese by the name of Kashōten in the time of the Sō Dynasty, and was first used in China in the 22nd year of Genka (445 A. D.).]

In view of making the above loss good and of adjusting time more accurately, a different Chinese calendar called Gihōreki, otherwise known as Rintokureki, was next adopted in the year immediately following, that is, in the 1st year of the reign of Mommu Tennō (697 A. D.). It was in use, for the space of sixty-seven years, till the end of the 7th year of Tempyōhōji (763 A. D.), when it was again found that the error amounted to 14 *koku* [*i. e.*, 3h. 22m.] less than true time.

[This calendar was planned by a Chinese called Kijumpū in the time of the Tō Dynasty; it was first used in China in the 2nd year of Rintoku [665 A. D.).]

Again, to adjust time with a view to correctness, another Chinese calendar widely known as Taiyenreki was immediately

adopted in the ensuing year, that is, in the 8th year of Tempyōhōji (764 A. D.). It was in use, for the period of ninety-four years, till the 1st year of Tenan (857 A. D.), when its error amounted to 17 *koku* [*i. e.*, 4h. 8m.] in excess of true time.

[This calendar was formed by a Chinese priest called Ichigyō during the Tō Dynasty, and was first used in China in the 17th year of Kaigen (729 A. D.).]

In the year following, that is, the 2nd year of Tenan (858 A. D.), still another Chinese calendar called Gokireki was adopted in order the better to regulate the seasons. It was used for four years till the close of the 3rd year of Jōkwan (861 A. D.), and then was abandoned, for its error, amounting to 10 *koku* [*i. e.*, 2h. 24m.] less than true time, became manifest in so short a period.

[This calendar was projected by a Chinese called Kwakuken-shi during the Tō Dynasty, and was first used in China in the 1st year of Hōō (762 A. D.).]

Since the above calendar fell far short of expectation, it was supplanted in the next year, that is, the 4th year of Jōkwan (862 A. D.), by that well-known Chinese calendar called Semmei-reki, which was supposed to be tolerably accurate. It was in use for the space of eight hundred and twenty-three years, till the 1st year of Jōkyō (1684 A. D.), when its error, amounting to one day and ninety-five *koku* [*i. e.*, 1d. 22h. 48m.] less than true time, was discovered.

[This calendar was designed by a Chinese called Jokō in the time of the Tō Dynasty, and was first used in China in the 2nd year of Chōkei (822 A. D.).]

The different calendars above enumerated were all that were borrowed wholesale from China, the allowance for the difference

of longitude being out of the question.

Now dawned a new era upon the history of the Japanese Calendar. The time was now ripe for our savants to construct an independent calendar on new data, both by observation of the heavenly bodies and by instituting rigorous comparison of some of the chief Chinese calendars. Among others, a man of the name of Yasui Santetsu Minamoto-no-Shunkai stands prominent in this connection. He was at once a skilful mathematician and an adept at the intricate game of *go*. It was he who, by command of the authorities, first set about constructing a new calendar based on the principles of his own elaboration. As a result of his labour, he produced the so-called Jōkyōreki. By imperial decree it was put to use on and from the 1st day of the 11th moon of the 1st year of Jōkyō (1684 A. D.), whence the name. This is emphatically the first reformation of the genuine Japanese Calendar.

The Jōkyō calendar continued in practice till the 4th year of Hōreki (1754 A. D.), for seventy-one years, when it was superseded by another calendar called Hōreki-kōshureki, where *kōshu* means the cyclic characters for that particular year. It was framed by Shibukawa Kōkō and others by the direction of the government. It came into use on the 11th moon of the 4th year of Hōreki.

The Hōreki-kōshu calendar continued to be used till the 9th year of Kwansei (1797 A. D.), for forty-four years, when it was in turn supplanted by still another calendar styled Kwanseireki. It was prepared chiefly by Shibukawa Keiyū by the instruction of the government. It came into operation in the 11th moon of the 9th year of Kwansei.

The Kwansei calendar continued in use till the 13th year of

Tempō (1842 A. D.), for forty-six years, when it was finally replaced by the last lunar calendar under the old regime. It was called Tempō-jininreki, where *jinin* means the cyclic characters for that special year. This also was prepared chiefly by Shibukawa Keiyū under government auspices, and was put into operation in the 11th moon of the 13th year of Tempō.

The Tempō-jinin calendar continued in practice till about the close of the 5th year of Meiji (1872 A. D.), for thirty-one years, when it was suppressed by reason of the adoption of the Gregorian calendar. On the occasion of this radical change, twenty-seven days were docked from the old calendar, and as a consequence the 3rd day of the 12th moon of the year was called and reckoned as the 1st day of January of the year next, that is, the 6th year of Meiji (1873 A. D.).

A general discontent was shown by the populace at this novel change in their almanac, and "Give us back the days we have lost" was their unanimous outcry, just as it is said to have been in England when she adopted the New Style in place of the Old. Besides, some scurrilous language was used by the more bigoted in giving vent to their indignation, and such an expression as "*Nase ka misoka ni tsuki ga deru*" ["For 'tis no wonder that the moon should rise on the last day of the month,"] which was employed to wind up some vulgar songs made in laughing to scorn the late innovation.

The Gregorian calendar first appeared in printed form in the almanac for the 7th year of Meiji (1874 A. D.), the year made memorable by the feasibility of the observation of the transit of Venus at Tokyo and other places in the Empire. This almanac also contained the old or lunar calendar as computed from the

British *Nautical Almanac* for that year, and all the succeeding almanacs up to the present time have embodied both the Gregorian and the lunar calendars. Now, two kinds of almanacs have been yearly issued by the goverment from about this period; namely, the Honreki (the standard) and the Ryakureki (the abridged). The former contains additional information on astronomy, such as the sun's declination at the Tōkyō Imperial Observatory for each day of the year; on the high tide at Reiganjima, Tōkyō, with its time-constants for certain other localities: its later issues also contain yearly averages, etc., bearing on meteorology, taken at different meteorological stations scattered over the Empire. In preparing the Honreki, besides the British *Nautical Almanac*, the French *Connaissance des Temps*, the German Berliner *Astronomiches Yahrbuch*, and the *American Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac* are laid under contribution.

To return to the old calendar, its yearly issues in printed form date from the 6th year of Genna (1620 A. D.), and are extant. These contain from the very first issue the predictions of solar and lunar eclipses, but those of the earlier ones proved far from being correct, on account of the very crude mode adopted in handling the problem. In the almanac for the 14th year of Kyōhō (1729 A. D.), the entry of the *Nijūshi-setsu* (*i. e.*, the twenty-four solar terms), with the time of the beginning of each *setsu* in terms of *koku* taken as parts of the *Jūnishi* (*i. e.*, the twelve terrestrial branches) occurs for the first time. Thus, the almanac in question says that *Shumbun* begins on the 23rd day of the 2nd moon at the 8th *koku* of the dog hour, which means that the sun enters Aries at that instant. The almanac also gives the time of the sun's rising and setting and the lengths of day and night, in

terms of *koku* taken as parts of one day, on the day of the commencement of each *Setsu*. In the almanac for the 1st year of Kōkwa (1844 A. D.), the indication of time by means of the twelve terrestrial branches was finally dispensed with, and the number showing the strokes of the bell was for the first time introduced. In the almanac for the 7th year of Meiji (1874 A. D.), the European division of time into twenty-four hours, of hours into minutes, of minutes into seconds, was for the first time introduced.

Now, the *Jikkan* (*i. e.*, the ten heavenly branches) and the *Jūnishi* (*i. e.*, the twelve terrestrial branches), which go to make up the sexagenary cycle, are both of them clearly of Chinese origin, and their first use in our country in fixing dates is coeval with the advent of the Chinese calendar itself. A discussion on their antiquity in China may be seen in Mr. Chalmers' contribution to Dr. Legge's *Chinese Classics*.

The method of distributing the lunar months of 29 and 30 days in a given lunar year, as actually employed before the adoption of the Gregorian calendar, is too tedious to be explained in this place. It is now the work of a minute; for by taking the figures for the new moon on page XII for each month in the British *Nautical Almanac*, adding to them 9 hours, the 'standard time' for Japan, and converting the sum into civil time by a well-known rule, we shall obtain the time of the new moon for our country. It will then turn out that the interval of two successive new moons is either 29 or 30 days, and by carrying the process far enough, the distribution of the long and short months in a given lunar year will at once be known. It is evident that the *Nautical Almanac* for two consecutive years is required in

determining the length of each month of a lunar year, since a lunar year stretches over two solar years.

The method of intercalating a lunar month can generally be explained thus: that month is made intercalary where there is an absence of the commencement of a *chūki*. Now, out of the *Nijūshi-setsu* (*i. e.*, the twenty-four solar terms) taken in order, beginning with *Risshun*, all the even ones are known as *chūki*; namely, *Usui*, *Shumbun*, *Kokuu*, *Shōman*, *Geshi*, *Taishō*, *Shosho*, *Shūbun*, *Sōkō*, *Shōsetsu*, *Tōji*, and *Taikan*; the rest, that is, the odd ones, are called *kisetsu*. Generally speaking, the commencement of two solar terms is found in one lunar month. Thus, in the almanac for the 12th year of Meiji (1879 A. D.), *Seimei* and *Kokuu* respectively begin on the 14th and the 29th of the 3rd moon, corresponding to the 5th and 20th of April. The next moon of the year is intercalary, for it contains the commencement of but one solar term that is not *chūki*. In fact, the only solar term that has its beginning in it is *Rikka*, which is a *kisetsu*, and it begins on the 16th of the intercalary 3rd moon, corresponding to the 6th of May. Again, in the 13th year of Meiji (1880 A. D.), only one solar term has its commencement in the 5th moon; that is, Geshi begins on the 14th of the moon, corresponding to the 21st of June. It is, however, a *chūki*, so that the moon in question is not intercalary. Now, seven intercalary months are generally found in the space of nineteen years, as will be seen in the following table:—

Era.	New Year's Day.	Intercalary Moon.	Total No. of Days.	Era.	New Year's Day.	Intercalary Moon.	Total No. of Days.	Era.	New Year's Day.	Intercalary Moon.	Total No. of Days.
4 Kokwa	15 Feb. 1847		355	2 Keiō	15 Feb. 1866		355	18 Meiji	15 Feb. 1885		354
1 Kayei	5 Feb. 1848		354	3 „	5 Feb. 1867		354	19 „	4 Feb. 1886		354
2 „	24 Jan. 1849	4	384	1 Meiji	25 Jan. 1868	4	383	20 „	24 Jan. 1887	4	384
3 „	12 Feb. 1850		354	2 „	11 Feb. 1869		355	21 „	12 Feb. 1888		354
4 „	1 Feb. 1851		354	3 „	1 Feb. 1870	10	383	22 „	31 Jan. 1889	12	384
5 „	21 Jan. 1852	2	384	4 „	19 Feb. 1871		355	23 „	19 Feb. 1890		355
6 „	8 Feb. 1853		355	5 „	9 Feb. 1872		355	24 „	9 Feb. 1891		355
1 Ansei	29 Jan. 1854	7	384	6 „	29 Jan. 1873	6	384	25 „	30 Jan. 1892	6	384
2 „	17 Feb. 1855		354	7 „	17 Feb. 1874		354	26 „	17 Feb. 1893		354
3 „	6 Feb. 1856		355	8 „	6 Feb. 1875		354	27 „	6 Feb. 1894		354
4 „	26 Jan. 1857		384	9 „	26 Jan. 1876	5	384	28 „	26 Jan. 1895	5	384
5 „	14 Feb. 1858		354	10 „	13 Feb. 1877		354	29 „	14 Feb. 1896		355
6 „	3 Feb. 1859		354	11 „	2 Feb. 1878		354	30 „	2 Feb. 1897		354
1 Manyen	23 Jan. 1860	3	384	12 „	22 Jan. 1879	3	384	31 „	22 Jan. 1898	3	384
1 Bunkyū	10 Feb. 1861		354	13 „	10 Feb. 1880		355	32 „	10 Feb. 1899		355
2 „	30 Jan. 1862	8	384	14 „	30 Jan. 1881	7	384	33 „	31 Jan. 1900	8	384
3 „	18 Feb. 1863		355	15 „	18 Feb. 1882		355	34 „	19 Feb. 1901		354
1 Genji	8 Feb. 1864		354	16 „	8 Feb. 1883		354	35 „	8 Feb. 1902		355
1 Keiō	27 Jan. 1865	5	384	17 „	28 Jan. 1884	5	384	36 „	29 Jan. 1903	5	383

From the above table we see that, when there is an intercalary moon in a lunar year, its New Year's Day always happens in January, with this exception, that it might occur in the second February, when New Year's Day occurs in February for four consecutive solar years. The length of an ordinary lunar year is either 354 or 355 days, but it may rarely be 353 days, as it was with the 1st year of Kyōyen (1744 A.D.). The length of a lunar year containing an intercalary month is either 383 or 384 days.

The celebration of what is known as *Sakutantōji* had often to do with the length of a lunar month. Now by *Sakutantōji* is meant the coming on of the winter solstice on the 1st day of the 11th moon. According to "Shoku-Nihongi," the event was first celebrated in the 3rd year of Yenryaku (784 A.D.), as such a coincidence actually occurred. Subsequent to that year, the *Sakutantōji* happened in the 22nd year of Yenryaku (803 A.D.), the 13th year of Kōnin (822 A.D.), the 8th year of Shōwa (841 A.D.), the 2nd year of Jōkwan (860 A.D.), when it was artificially brought about in the following manner. In that year the winter solstice fell on the 2nd day of the 11th moon, and the preceding 10th moon was an intercalary one of 29 days. But by adding an extra day to this moon at the expense of the 1st day of the 11th moon, thus making it a moon of 30 days, the 2nd day of the 11th moon was in consequence reckoned as the 1st day of the same moon. Thus, by this adjustment, the winter solstice was in this instance made to fall on the 1st day of the 11th moon. The fact is detailed in one of the classical annals called "Sandai-jitsuroku." Such a practice was not uncommon in subsequent periods. From Jōkwan till the present year, the *Sakutantōji* has happened about forty-five times, either naturally or by adjustment, the last one

before the adoption of the Gregorian calendar being in the 3rd year of Meiji (1870 A. D.), but scarcely any notice has of recent years been taken of the event to which so much importance was attached in times of old. It might be well to mention in this connection that one occurred in the 33rd year of Meiji (1900 A. D.), it being thus far the first and last since the advent of the Gregorian reckoning in our country.

Now, space forbids me to dwell on the nature and usages of such days as *Higan*, *Hangeshō*, *Shanichi*, *Doyō*, etc. For the elucidation of such matters the reader is referred to a work called *Junkwanreki*, from the pen of Koizumi Shōtaku. I shall, however, mention the way they are inserted in the current almanacs. *Higan* is placed on the 3rd day before the beginning of *Shumbun* and *Shūbun* respectively (that is, it happens on the 3rd day before the Vernal Equinox, and again on the 3rd day before the Autumnal Equinox). Thus, when *Shumbun* happens on the 21st day of March, as it actually did last spring, *Higan* occurs on the 18th.

Hangeshō is placed on the 10th day after *Geshi* (that is, the Summer Solstice), when the latter begins before 12 o'clock noon on the day of its occurrence; but *Hangeshō* is placed on the 11th day after Geshi, when the latter begins after 12 o'clock noon on the day of its commencement. Thus, in the 33rd year of Meiji (1900 A. D.), *Geshi* began (that is, the sun entered Cancer) at 6h. 39m. A. M. on the 22nd day of June, so that *Hangeshō* happened on the 2nd day of July. But in the current year, *Geshi* will begin at 6h. 15m. P. M. 22nd June, so that *Hangeshō* will happen on the 3rd day of July.

Shanichi is placed on the nearest day of *tsuchinoye* either

before or after the commencement of *Shumbun* and *Shūbun* respectively. It sometimes happens that the nearest days of *tsuchinoye* occur on the same number of days both before and after the beginning of either *Shumbun* or *Shūbun*. In that case the time of its commencement is necessarily taken into account. When it begins in the morning, the nearest day of *tsuchinoye* before its beginning is taken up; when it begins in the afternoon, that after its beginning is made available. Thus, in the 14th year of Meiji (1881 A.D.), the vernal equinox commenced at 8h. 32m. 39 s. P.M. on the 20th day of March, and the 16th and the 25th days of the month were the days of *tsuchinoye* nearest to the equinox. As the latter began in the afternoon, the 25th of the month was made *Shanichi*. The same thing happened last spring, as will be evident from a glance at the proper page of the current almanac.

Doyō is now calculated from the sun's longitude. When it reaches 297°, 27°, 117°, and 207°, those respective instants are the beginnings of the *Doyō* of January, April, July, and October.

N. Sakuma.

N. B.

In the study of this subject of time reckonings in Japan, Bramsen's "Chronological Tables" are, of course, invaluable; but they are, unfortunately, not easily accessible.

E. W. C.

A CHINESE REFUGEE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY

ERNEST W. CLEMENT, M.A.

In a paper read before this Society on April 8, 1896, upon the subject, "Chinese Refugees of the Seventeenth Century in Mito," the writer referred in notes * to other Chinese refugees who found refuge about that time in various localities of Japan. One of these was called Tai Ryū [戴笠], or Tai Man Kō [戴曼公], who was both a priest and a physician. In that paper allusion was made to the fact that a stone monument had been erected to his memory, by pupils of his, at Kawagoye, near Tōkyō.

In January of this year [1902], after instituting more particular inquiries about this matter, and ascertaining that the monument was in the precincts of the temple known as Heirinji, between Tōkyō and Kawagoye, we started out in company with a Japanese friend to find the place. It turned out to be in Nobitome Village, Niikura County, of the Province of Musashi, and the Saitama Prefecture. The temple is situated on a little knoll called Kimpōzan,† about half a mile off the main road to Kawagoye, and about 6 *ri* from Tōkyō.

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* T. A. S. J., Vol. XXIV, pp. 27, 28, 38. † See Note A.

We found here, not only the aforesaid monument, but also many relics, of Tai Man Kō. It is true that the monument was first erected at Kawagoye; but it did not then, and does not now, mark the place of his burial; it is only an honorary monument, a cenotaph, and the place of interment is not definitely known. The monument is of wood, black lacquered, and about 5 feet high and 4 feet wide; the inscription thereon is to the following purport * :—

Epitaph on the Monument of the Independent Zen Teacher. By Kogentai [高玄岱], disciple.

The teacher was born at Ninwa [仁和], Kōshū [杭州], China. His father was an official and known as a man of good deeds. His mother was a Ching [陳]. Seven children were born to them; and the last was the teacher. His birth took place on the 19th day of the 2nd month of the—year of Manreki [A. D. 1595 (?)].

The child was bright by nature and had an excellent memory; so that he could repeat whatever he had once glanced at in a book. Though he was sent to school when very young, he had very little inclination to write compositions, (a task which constituted the chief pursuit of students in those days).

When he was grown up, he wandered about from one place to another, searching for beautiful mountains and clear streams and other sublime scenery worthy of admiration. When he was 30 years old, he had not yet written a verse. One day a friend of his urged him to compose a poem. Then, to the astonishment and admiration of all present, he spoke out, off hand, a fine

* Translated by Prof. Y. Chiba, of Duncan Academy, Tōkyō.

rhyme. After this he was always ready to write poetry whenever a subject was suggested to him. His productions came out spontaneously and showed perfect originality.

Previous to this an important political change had taken place in his own country, that is to say, the Ming dynasty had been overthrown by the Shing. He could scarcely bear to enjoy life under the latter government, thinking that it was an awful thing and a disgrace to serve two masters; and this caused him a heartfelt desire to leave that country and come over to our country. As a boat was leaving for Japan, he seized the opportunity and came to Nagasaki. This was on the 2nd day of the 3rd month in the 2nd year of Shōwō [A. D. 1645].

In this city he met Fushō [普照], a Buddhist priest of wide learning, who had been invited from China as a religious teacher. The teacher [Tai Man Kō] was not a little impressed by the priest and listened with unusual interest to his teaching. At last he was converted from Confucianism to Buddhism. He changed his name to Eki [易] and surnamed himself *Dokuritsu Tenka Ichikan-jin* [獨立天下一閒人].

He was a man of unfettered disposition; he was an extensive reader, especially of religious books, and soon became known to the world. He entered a monastery and was there made a scribe. During the 1st year of Manji [1658], he came with the priest to the capital. The reputation of his learning and virtue became known among the high officials and noblemen, so that some tried to secure him for a teacher.

During the 2nd year of Manji [1659] he was obliged to return to Nagasaki on account of illness. Having recovered from this sickness, he began a pilgrimage all over the country. Wherever

he went, he gave medicine and drove away diseases. The people called him "divine."

He excelled in penmanship. His style of writing exactly corresponded with the ancient standards in penmanship; and his ideographs made a wonderful impression upon those who looked at them. To get a piece of paper containing his writing, or even a single character, was considered the same as to obtain a precious jewel or treasure.

A few years later, his teacher Fushō died; and he came over to the capital again. Soon afterward, he was made the priest of Kimpōji, which was called Heirin, a Buddhist temple ten *ri* out of the city. This temple had been established by Nobutsuna Minamoto, the Lord of Izu. When he came to this temple, he opened up the country, drew water from the Tama River for the convenience of the people, and added elegant buildings. He went around the neighboring country, teaching the people and comforting them.

He had not forgotten his own country, and would often write out, with indignation, treatises denouncing the great crime of the Shing dynasty, and sympathizing with his own people, who were overwhelmed by the terrible calamity which had befallen them. May we not call him one faithful to his own country and a true disciple of Buddha?

He died in the 12th year of Kwambun [1672] at the age of 77.

NOTE A.

Kimpōzan Heirinji [金鳳山平林寺], also called Yōshinin [養心院], which is located about 8 *chō* east of the Nobitome Road, belongs to the Zen Sect. This temple was opened in the 1st year of Kōwō [1389] by the great priest, Sekihitsu Zenkyū. The temple was originally built in Iwatsuki Village, between Ōmiya and Kasukabe, but it was moved to this place in the 3rd year of Kwambun [1663]. There are four buildings connected with the temple. One of them is called Taikeidō [鯤溪堂], which contains an image of Kwannon,* 1 foot and 2 or 3 inches tall, dressed in white, which was worshipped by Tai Man Kō, and a wooden statue of the latter. There is also a wooden tablet with the following inscription: *Min* (*no*) *Dokuritsu Eki Zenshi Kwakui*,† which seems to have been only an honorary appellation.

* This had been stolen just a little while before our visit.

† 明獨立易禪師覺位

NOTE B.

I have recently been so fortunate as to run across a small photograph of Mitsukuni (Gikō), the 3rd Tokugawa Prince of Mito, who was the patron of learning and gave several Chinese refugees a shelter in his clan. For information concerning this Japanese Maecenas, see papers on "The Tokugawa Princes of Mito" (Vol. XVIII, Part 1), "The Mito Civil War" (Vol. XIX, Part 2), "Chinese Refugees of the Seventeenth Century in Mito" (Vol. XXIV), and "Instructions of a Mito Prince to His Retainers" (Vol. XXVII). The above-mentioned photograph is here reproduced:—

MITSUKUNI [GIKŌ]

BOOK I.

IN PRIVATE LIFE.

CHAPTER I.

FATHER AND GRANDFATHER.

When four years old father lost his mother, and when nine his father died. He knew little of them. Grandfather's name was Kageyu, and grandmother was the daughter of someone named Someya. I do not know their native place but both died in the village Shimotsuma, in the province of Hitachi.

Our name Arai came from the Minamoto* family of the province Kōdzuke, and Someya from the Fujiwara family of Sagami province. I do not know why they went to Hitachi. There are those who profess to know, but as father died without telling me I do not believe them. He told me that grandfather lost his estates and was concealed by his farmers for a while.

His eyes were large, his beard heavy, and his appearance stern. His hair did not turn grey before he died. He always ate, so father's old nurse told him, with chopsticks which he took from a highly ornamented lacquer box, and after eating he put the chopsticks back and carefully

* The Minamoto family was in 3 branches—Seiwa Genji, Chini-no-Genji and Kai-no-Genji.

put the box away. In some battle he had taken a good head, and when he showed it to the general the latter said,—"You must be tired," and passed him his own tray and dinner, giving him the chopsticks. But father heard the story when so young that he did not remember the name of the general, nor what battle it was.

One other story father told of him,—When an old comrade said to him, "You are contemptuous," grandfather replied, "Contempt cannot be endured. You spoke in jest but jests invite contempt."

After grandfather's death father's adopted brother gave him to a wealthy man whose place was not like grandfather's but was full of servants, guns, bows and spears. This man loved father well, but, when 13 years old, father quarrelled with a comrade and was asked, "what good is there in arguing with one who does not know his place as a dependent?" Father did not understand and, as there was no one else, asked his old nurse. She told him not to mind, but as he persisted at last she cried and said :—"Your father once had an establishment like this but though he remembered regretfully the past he died in peace. This man, with his wealth, might adopt any one's son, but he has taken you and loves you better than his own child, for you are the son of his lord. Obey him like a father."

When father heard this he hated his adopted brother, borrowed some pence from the priest his teacher, did up his clothes and wrapped them in paper, stuck his pence into his girdle, put on his sword and went away. After going a few miles he met the postmen from Mito who asked him to join them and told him so young a lad was in danger from thieves if he went alone to Edo. For

a while he refused to answer their questions, but as they were very kind, and put him on the horse when he was tired, at last he told them about himself. So they cared for him in Edo and found him employment. Twenty years after father returned to Shimotsuma to observe the twenty-fifth anniversary of his father's death. Of father's brothers three were dead, and the survivor told him that the second brother had deeply mourned him and made unaviling search for him in Edo.

Soon this remaining brother died also, and father had no further friends in Shimotsuma.

Father's youth was passed in the period soon after the wars, when men were chivalrous and righteous, very different from now. He wandered about until he was thirty years old and then found employment with the *Kobu*, Minamoto Tsuchiya.*

Three foot soldiers who were accused of murder and confined in the arrow-room above the gate were put in his charge. He accepted this position on condition that the swords of the men were returned; and when this was done he said. "If you escape, cut off my head and take it with you. I cannot fight three men. My sword is useless." So he wrapped it in a long strip of cloth and put it aside. He slept and ate with them for ten days, when they were acquitted. But they were dismissed the service as they had suffered in reputation. When leaving they said to father." It was shameful that three of us were put in charge of one man and we purposed to show

* Kobu—was an honorary title and was equivalent to—Minister in charge of Embankments. Arai always calls his lord by this title. He was a *hatamoto daimyo* of 21.000 *koku*, and his estates were in Kururi in Kururi in Kadzusa, across the bay from Tokyo.

our strength. But when you put your sword aside we felt our shame would be increased should we kill an unarmed man; nor could we commit suicide without an antagonist. Then we planned to take our revenge after our release, but our swords were restored to us and we can still enter the society of *samurai*. Your kindness has taken way our wrath and we shall not forget your sympathy.

Soon after, father was promoted and given permanent position in the Kobu's household. Gradually he rose to be censor. *

From this on I write of my own remembrance.

Father's life followed a strict and uninterrupted routine. He awoke at the tiger hour (four a.m.), bathed in cold water and dressed his own hair. In very cold weather mother wished him to use warm water but he would not as it would make the servants trouble. When he was past seventy fire was kept in the foot warmer at night, for mother suffered from the cold, and, as water could be heated there without trouble to anyone, he used hot water.

Father and mother were Buddhists and after their bath put on their special garments and worshipped the Buddhas. On their parent's anniversaries they prepared the rice without help from the servants. When they awakened before dawn they sat up in bed and silently awaited the day. When it was light enough to see they arose.

Father's road lay to the north but he always went out of the south gate and turned to the east. Returning he went to the west and entered by the north gate. His

* "Grandfather died in 1609, and grandmother in 1604. Father was born in 1602, and went to Edo in 1613."

sandals had iron knobs and he walked with resounding steps giving notice of his approach. All knew his tread and hushed crying children at the sound. *

The Kobu went year by year to his estates in Modagōri, province of Kadzusa, spending the time from the eighth to the twelfth month there. On his return he would ask father for the news and be told, "There is none." After some years he said, "How is this! Among so many *samurai* surely something has happened these years past!" But father replied, "Great matters we communicate to you at once, trifles we arrange and there is nothing to tell." Thereafter, when the Kobu returned, he called father and told him the happenings in Kadzusa to which father listened and retired.

In the autumn of 1645, the Kobu was put in charge at Suruga, and in his stead father went to Kadzusa. The following spring, he was summoned in haste to Suruga to look after the young *samurai* who climbed the bamboo fence at night, and went out for their amusement, not heeding the rebuke of the officials. Father wished to prevent the scandal of punishments for such offences, so he set up four or five guard houses with two foot-soldiers in each and himself went the rounds all night. This wholly put a stop to the offence.

In 1647, the Kobu was put in charge of the fire department in Nikko, and in 1649, of the Osaka castle. Father went with him to keep the young *samurai* in order *en route*. So he did not sleep at all at night, but dozed on horseback in the day time or when the company halted. He suffered

* Not to lie down after awaking, to walk with resounding steps and turn to the east on leaving his gate was to follow the classical examples.

so from night blindness that when he returned to Mishima he could not see the lanterns. His real object was the protection of the Kobu against the vengeance of a young *samurai*, who had committed a flagrant crime and had fled. The Kobu was determined to take him, but could not, and put his aged mother in prison, thinking he would come for her relief. But he did not come and the woman died in prison. So the *samurai* disguised himself that he might kill the Kobu. Father knew all this, and feared the journey might afford advantage to the criminal.

A boy named Ashizawa had been left an orphan at an early age. He was given office and honourably employed by the Kobu. When Ashizawa was twenty years old the Kobu one day called father. The Kobu was seated with his sword by his side and his countenance changed. He said, "Come close to me." Father thought there was need for his sword and started to get it, but the Kobu said, "Come as you are. I shall kill Ashizawa myself. Stay and see." Father stood in silence and soon the Kobu said again, "What is your opinion?" And Father replied:— "Ashizawa acknowledges that your kindness to an orphan deserves an extraordinary return. He is naturally strong but is still very young, often does wrong and has given cause for your wrath. But, are not men of a different mould useless when mature? Thinking of all this my answer was slow and I beg pardon." At this the Kobu was lost in thought and father too stood in silence. The moquitoes gathered on their faces until the Kobu spoke again, when six or seven fell gorged and father carefully picked them up and put them in a paper. At last the Kobu said," You may go now and rest."

Ashizawa had been given to drink and rioting, but, as

father and father's friend Seki urged him now, he reformed. After a few years he was given his father's office, and when the Kobu was dead, father said, "See that you do not forget the past!" for he had taken to drink again.

In the Kobu's household was a man named Katō, who was about sixty years old when I was twenty. He had two famous swords—"dish cutter" and "monkey leader." I have seen the first, it was narrow and three feet long, but not the other. That he had from a monkey leader. When Katō was sixteen years old he killed one of his *samurai*, cutting quite across his body and clean through a dish. But after father retired from office he told me the facts as a secret.

"One can't believe all that men say, that sword I gave you when young is the true dish-cutter. Katō's apartment adjoined mine and one day I heard him from the second story quarrelling in a loud voice with one of his young *samurai* who was cleaning fish below. What a miserable row, I thought, and just then Katō rushed down stairs, and I picked up my sword and went to see. He had struck the *samurai* but had been too weak to injure him, and he had turned on Katō with his knife. So I cut down the man from the shoulder, my sword going quite across his body and through the dish. As he fell, I said to Katō, 'Now stick him!' wiped the blood from my blade and went home. So when others came rushing in they called Katō's sword "the dish-cutter."

My sword had belonged to a man named Goto, and he had it from his elder brother who had cut a man's head in two with it. Half the head he kept in proof of the sword's qualities. From Goto it came to me. Have a

care for it! "I have kept it for ceremonial occasions and for service and call it lion."

I have also a sword which once belonged to the grandson of Okabe, Lord Tambu. Once when going out into the forest with a young companion they met a wild boar. The companion ran and climbed a tree, but his lord waited with his back to a tree. When the boar charged him with its tusks he cut it across the mouth and the brute bit the sword and ran with it in its mouth and struck against a tree,-destroying the ornaments of the sword and killing itself. This boy did many such deeds, and father begged the sword from him and gave it to me. But father added "I never talk of the quality of my sword, for when men talk of their swords they soon come to testing them in fight."

A certain old man constantly swore by the gods and the Buddhas, and father cautioned me, "Men who lie, swear as a proof of truth. This old man is not a liar, but is careless in his talk, and has acquired this habit. Beware of it!"

Father had a friend, five or six years his junior, named Seki, who became imbecile when more than seventy years old, and father thought, "How pitiable one is when his powers fail with age; and there is no help for it unless preparation is made in youth. Old men do and say wrong things from forgetfulness. Old and young have a certain routine, if they attempt more they may do it or may not. So from my youth I have undertaken few duties, but those I have done with my strength and have not left them to others. I have a place for everything, so I can find it in the dark, just as we learn the parts of our bodies and use them involuntarily. And there is profit in asking old men of their youth; for that they do not forget and answer well

if asked; but we should not speak of the new and wonderful things we hear. I forget names heard only once, and times and places escape me soon. Nothing is thought of it if a youth forgets, but if it is an old man they say, He is imbecile. So I take special care not to forget. Seki was honest and skillful, but he was careless in speech and act. So he has become imbecile."

As I remember father he was very grey, his face was square, and his forehead high. His eyes were large, and his beard heavy. He was short, large-boned, strongly built. He showed no sign of emotion in his face, he did not laugh loudly nor scold in an angry voice. His words were few and his movements dignified. I never saw him surprised, amazed or lacking in self control. For example, he thought small moxa useless and would have five or seven large ones applied at once, showing no sign of suffering.

When off duty, he cleaned his room, hung up some ancient painting, arranged a few flowers of the season and sat silent all day or painted pictures. He did not care for colored pictures.

When well he did not have servants wait on him at meals. He ate two bowls of rice and a variety of other things that he might not hurt himself eating too much of any one. He did not pick and choose but ate what was set before him whether he fancied it or not, weighing the several dishes in his hands to determine their quantity. He did not order his meals, though he insisted upon having the fresh food of the four seasons as soon as it was in the market, and ate it with the family. He was easily affected by wine, and merely took the cup in his hand at the ceremonies. Tea he much liked.

At home, he wore carefully washed clothes, nothing soiled

even in bed. When he went out, his dress was new and fine, but not extravagant or beyond his rank for, like the famous men of old, he wished no criticisms after death. He associated things with their owners and thought character revealed by possessions, and that it was a shame to forget one's things.

His ordinary fan was of an ancient pattern with white ribs, and its paper splashed with silver and gold, but at times he used a fan ornamented with pictures, and was careful to get pictures by famous artists. Still more was he particular as to the ornaments of his swords and armour.

When past seventy his left elbow troubled him and he wished to retire, but the Kobu would not consent. So father wore only one sword, a short one a foot long and an inch wide, with its scabbard wound with silk, and his servant followed bearing his long sword. That was extraordinary, but the Kobu permitted it. * Father thought a sword for use, and not to be worn when it could not be handled, and so wore only his short one. That he kept until death, and then gave it to his adopted son in Ōshu. Its ornaments were iron, its scabbard had black lacquer waves ornamented with ebony. When he took the tonsure he put it away in a leathern bag.

Some years after his death the late head of the Kōtoku temple told me that when father was past eighty a drunken fellow came to the temple flourishing his sword, and no one faced him until the old man came out, caught him by the arm, tripped him, threw his sword into the drain, and went back into the temple. Then the young priests came out

* Extraordinary, because the swords of Daimyo were thus carried by servants.

and guarded the fellow where he lay, until sobered, and finally sent him home. The priest thought father's deed should not be mentioned, lest people think it a mere display of vanity on the part of an old man. But persons of discrimination will see the reason for his act.

When I was seventeen or eighteen, I dropped a green colored cord with a hook at its end used for securing criminals. "What is that he asked," "When I was a censor I had such a cord for years, for fear my servants might not have one in time of need. When I gave up office I used it to tie the cat. That is the cord you have. A *samurai* should take care. Each one has things to do and other things not to do. That is not for you, and you are too old to be heedless.

CHAPTER II.

STORIES OF THE PAST: FATHER'S RETIREMENT AND DEATH.

Father told me this story of Takadaki Kichibei, of Harima a *samurai* of Shizawa. He was very fond of fishing and one day left his swords with his servant and waded into the water with his net. He went into the boundaries of a neighboring *daimyō*, and was taken by two guards and bound up with his net. With tears of blood he begged off, but keenly felt his disgrace as the story got around. He had much desired that which is not for *samurai*, and so was led into these misfortunes.

On the New Year's day following he went to the great gate of the neighboring *daimyō*, and there, in the crowd, cut

down one of the best *samurai* and fled leaving a card with this writing,—" I cut him down to cover my shame." They searched the neighborhood but could not find him. Next day he cut down another *samurai*, left his card and disappeared, and again, on the seventh day repeated his exploit. They could not find him. Once to do such a deed is easy, to do it three times showed his strength and audacity.

I used to tell this story while I was employed by the Kobu; and once, when in Kadzusa my attention was attracted by a man standing among the farmers. He kept looking at me and averting his face as he caught my eye. He did not seem an ordinary man, and I went to his side and asked who he might be? At first he said,—" I am of this place," and averted his face. But as I insisted at last he said, " I am the Takadaki whom you once knew. This was the home of my ancestors, and hither I fled and was taken in for my family's sake. When I heard that Arai was here I came to see if it was indeed you, and was overcome with shame as I recalled the past."

Father told me another story, of an Echizen man named Kurobei who had disappeared. Years after, father was crossing the Hakone pass, going to Harima in the west on business. Just beyond Hata he saw a coolie with a bundle of wood, and passing him a little heard a call. He looked back and saw that the coolie had laid down his wood, taken the cloth from his face, and was coming toward him. " So," to tell the story in father's words, " I turned back and he said, 'You do not remember me? I am Kurobei. Why are you so foolish as to come here alone?' Then as I looked at him I seemed to remember him, but as in a dream, so fallen was he. 'How did you come to this?' I asked

and told him of myself. So he said, 'As you have leisure, and I wish to talk with you come to my house. It is near.'

As we went together he said, 'I have an aged father, and as I could not support him otherwise took to his work. When I saw you I could not restrain my desire for a talk of the old times, though I was ashamed to call. But father is very old fashioned and will not see strangers, so I must explain to him. Wait here a little.'

So he left me and went into a wretched hut, but soon came again, and took me in. There was an old man of eighty making a fire. 'I have nothing for guests' he said, 'but must not be shamefaced before my son's friend. You shall have such as we have, and pray spend the night.' So he gave me rice mixed with wheat and some bulbs. Later on he said, 'I interrupt your talk,' bade us good night and went into another room.

We sat by the fire, feeding it with faggots, until after midnight and then he went into his father's room and brought out two bamboo sticks. From them he took his swords fine in make and beautiful in ornament. He wept and said, 'As a *samurai* I could not support my father, and he had no one else. I sold all but my swords. These I shall keep while my strength lasts. As you see, my father is not long for this world. If I can support him to the end I shall be happy. Afterwards you may meet me again.'

The next morning he prepared food for his father and me, went with me a distance on my way, and took his leave I never heard of him again.

Father was unmarried when he entered the Kobu's service. He adopted a boy named Ichiya Masanobu, the son of a dear friend. Ichiya became a retainer of the Kobu's

second son and went with him to Ōshu. When father retired, Ichiya supported him until I was able to do so. Later, Ichiya gave his possessions to his eldest son and became a priest. He died soon after I obtained my position, and his eldest son soon followed him. Then his second son died, and now his property is in the hands of his son's son.

Father was well past forty when he married mother. Their first two children were girls, and both died before they were three. The third was also a girl and died when nineteen, and my younger sister died at eighteen. Father was fifty seven, and mother forty two, when I was born.

I do not know certainly of my mother's parents. I knew her sisters, elder and younger. When I was old enough to understand, I earnestly asked after my grand parents but she replied, 'Nothing should be concealed from a son, but I'll not tell you. Often have men of rank been born of humble mothers and it will not disgrace you to be ignorant of your mother's family. But this much I will say, all know of my father and my grandfather. The latter was distinguished in Nobunaga's history; and my mother's grandfather distinguished himself in the Korean expedition.' My mother told me this in detail, weeping bitterly.

Mother was in the service of the Lady of Geishu,* and went with her to Oshu when she became a nun. There mother met and married father.

She wrote a fine hand, composed good verses, and read many books. She taught all this to my sisters. She was a skillful player of "*go*" and chess, and taught me to play. She had the finger tips for the "*koto.*" She thought

* The wife of the lord of Geishu.

women should weave cloth and make clothes; and she made father's and mine. I have some of her making still. The proverb says, "like marry like," and so it was with my parents. They were alike in words and actions.

When father shaved his head, mother did the same. She was sixty three when she died. The Kobu had died when father was seventy five. He was very ill at the time but recovered after he had been given up. He would not resume his office. The Kobu's heir pensioned father and praised him highly for his faithful service for so many years. Father and mother shaved their heads, and took a small dwelling in the temple Hō-on, Asakusa.

The next winter, Yorinao's distant cousin, a Minister of Kobu's and an intimate friend of father's consulted him about deposing Yorinao and making his young son heir. Father vainly tried to dissuade his friend, as the attempt was premature. The scheme failed and I too lost my position as I belonged to that party. (26th March 1677). My younger sister died the same year, and mother, sorrowed by these things, took ill on the 20th June 1678 and died suddenly on the 22d. So father was left alone.

In April 1679 Yorinao lost his rank and his son was given only a fraction of his possessions. The son sent for me, but I refused to go while father remained in disgrace. It was done as I wished and I went to the young man. He had as yet no "true name," and at his request I gave him one, Tatenao. Thus a way was opened for me * and I took service with Furukawa no Shosho, Masatoshi, Asson Hetta Chikuzen no Kami, Tairo.

Now I purposed to care for father, and the 15th July

* While in disgrace he could get no employment. His new allowance was 500 *koku*.

1679 he spent with me in talk and mutual solace. He went home the next day and the day following I heard that he was ill and went to him at once. He was dying. He heard that I had come, opened his eyes, took my hand, and died as one goes to sleep.

It was only an hundred days after I had become a *samurai.* It was a great grief; but he was comforted as he knew that I had a position and that his name had been cleared. He was eighty two years old.

I remember father well, as he was when over eighty. He had remained unchanged from my youth, and this both because of his natural superiority, and his careful habits in every thing. I well remember his oft repeated teachings and especially the following:—"Men should persevere. Attack the greatest difficulty first, and the others will not seem formidable." I have greatly profited by that, and especially as to my temper, for I am naturally impatient and restrain myself with difficulty. But with good fortune I have passed through many dangers, and my years and strength decay together. Probably I am not so impulsive as in the past. I desire this teaching to be handed down to the future members of my family."

Again father said,—"I left home when thirteen and lived among strangers. I have had many intimates and have kept their friendship by avoiding avarice and lust. Men differ by nature, rank and education but all alike destroy friendship by these two vices. As my teacher said, Lust and avarice weave a hatred nothing can undo. Let old and young beware of them."

CHAPTER III.

CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION.

The Kobu's mansion burned in the great fire, 4th March 1657, and all fled to Yanagiwara. There I was born in a temporary dwelling on March 25. So the Kobu called me when very young, Spark (i.e. the Son of the Fire). His mother took a fancy to me and I was much at her dwelling. The Kobu saw me there when I was three and afterwards sent for me daily and treated me with a kindness beyond that shown his own son. So folks thought me a natural son.

When I was six Ōshu Nambu Shinano no Kami, Toshinao, said to the Kobu, "I have no son. Give this boy to me." But the Kobu explained that I was the son of one of his retainers, whereon Toshinao said,—"Lend him to me. I'll care for him, educate him and give him an allowance of a thousand *koku*." But the Kobu, for his own and his mother's fondness, would not. Folks thought it a pity, as the Kobu could not do so well by me.

On New Year's day, my seventh year, I broke out with malignant small-pox. The Kobu's mother daily sent messengers, and priests to pray at my bed side. That father did not fancy, but permitted it. The Kobu sent two of his attendants and was much troubled when they told him that the doctor had given me up. He told him to redouble his efforts and sent me medicine with unicorn in it. So the spots came out and turned red, and folks said,—"So then he is for the world, but he is not the doctor's son." Dr. Ishikawa told me this when I was twenty four years old. When I had recovered the Kobu's mother gave me a feast, and my *samurai* sword and outfit. She died when I was nine.

When three years old, I was sitting one day tracing the pictures and ideographs in the *Ueno-monogatari* of people going to see the flowers, and mother said several of the ideographs were well made, and showed my work to father. Others thought it extraordinary, and it was shown to a number. I saw it in Kadzusa when I went there in my seventeenth year. I also wrote my name on a screen and two of the ideographs were well made. The screen burned in a conflagration. From that time I constantly amused myself reading and writing but had no teacher and so studied the pictured guide books.

The Kobu had a retainer named Tonda, who had a commentary on the *Taiheiki* which he used sometimes to expound in father's house, folks assembling to hear it. In my fourth or fifth year, I sat up by father and listened to the end, however late it might be, and then asked questions, to the astonishment of those present.

When six years old I was taught a Chinese poem with its explanation and music, so that I could comment on it, by a scholar named Uematsu, who also taught me two others. He advised sending me to some good master, but the old conservatives said;—"No one can become a scholar without talent, diligence and wealth. The boy has talent, but whether diligent or no we do not know. He surely has not wealth." And father said, "The Kobu is too fond of him to send him away to school." But still the Kobu took pride in my writing and wanted me to learn, and when, in my eighth year, he went to Kadzusa, he set me this task, to write three thousand ideographs every day and one thousand every evening. When the winter days were too short for my task, I moved my table out on the verandah so as to finish by day light, and when I grew sleepy at

night I put two pots of water by my side. Then as I began to nod I threw back my gown and my friend emptied one of the pots over me, and as I gradually grew dry and warm and sleepy again, he threw the other over me and so I got through the task. This was in the winter and autumn of my ninth year, and from that time I conducted father's correspondence.

In the autumn of my eleventh year I learned the *Tekinorai* by heart in ten days, wrote it out and presented it to the Kobu who was greatly pleased. From my thirteenth year I conducted his correspondence.

When I was eleven father had a friend named Seki, whose son was a clever fencer, and taught the art. I asked for lessons, but was refused as too young, when I replied, "If I cannot use my sword why should I wear it?" Then he consented, and taught me one style so well that in a contest with wooden swords with a youth of sixteen three times I was beaten and thrice victorious, the lookers laughing in their interest. So I took up martial exercises and read all the old war stories to the neglect of my writing.

In my seventeenth year I saw a copy of the *Okina-Mondō** in the house of a fellow page and borrowed it. Out of it I first learned of the "Way of the Sages." I liked it at once and wished to study it, but had no teacher. However, a physician of some attainments heard of my desire. He came daily to the Kobu's mansion, and taught me the "Introduction to the Little Learning," and then the history by Chūki. Day and night I studied the "Little Learning" and the "Four Classics." So far the physician helped me but as I went on to the "Five Books" I had no teacher and worked at them with a lexicon and

* Trans. As. Soc. Vol. XX. pp. 13 ff.

made many mistakes as I now know. So I studied by myself, and understood only in part and took up composition and rhetoric and poetry, making my first poem of fifty six characters in the twelfth month of that year. Then I wrote an essay, my first attempt at prose, in explanation of my verse, as I had heard a man ridicule and criticise it. I kept these boyish studies from the knowledge of father and his friends, but as I needed books I made a confidante of mother.

When twenty one I left the Kobu's mansion and continued my studies with congenial friends but, for reasons of my own, without a teacher. The scholar Ahiru of Tsushima was one of my friends and when, in the autumn of my 26th year, I was in service again, and a Korean ambassador arrived, I sent an hundred verses of my own to him by Ahiru with a request for an introduction for the book. He liked the verses, and asked to meet me, and so I had an evening with him and his two attendants, writing poetry, and, at the close, the ambassador wrote the introduction to my verses, as I had asked.

The same year Kinoshita first took office from the Shōgun. (1682). Later I went to Yamagata and kept a journal which Ahiru showed to Kinoshita who was his master. Ahiru also showed Kinoshita my book of poems and he liked the books and asked to see me, and so I met him. When Ahiru died he asked me to request Kinoshita to prepare his epitaph, and I acted as amanuensis.

So I became a disciple of Kinoshita and very intimate with him, though the usual ceremonies of initiation were omitted. For years he had many distinguished disciples, but I was put at their head and he sent me to teach the heir apparent of the Shōgun.

As I review my life it would appear that I should have made much greater progress had I had good teachers, when I began to write at three years, study poetry at six, and the "Way" at seventeen. When employed by the Shōgun I bought many books and was given many, but was so pressed by my duties that I found little time for reading. Before that I was so poor that my books were borrowed or copied and therefore few. In this matter of study no one has been more unfortunate. That I have so far succeeded is because I have followed father's advice and done the most difficult task first. What others learn at once, I master only with ten repetitions and what others with ten, I with an hundred repetitions.

CHAPTER IV.

YOUTH.

The year before the Kobu died, (I was then eighteen), I went with him on his usual visit to Kadzusa.

In the middle of the eleventh month I was accused of leaving my post, when on guard, to see the hunt, and was imprisoned in my own house. Toward the end of that month the younger *samurai* quarrelled and, together with their relatives formed two parties. All joined one side or the other and in the beginning of the twelfth month they met and decided to fight. All father's friends were with Seki, and were expecting to go to the fight at the hour of the sheep.

I was told about the affair, and sent a trusty servant to bring me word when all should be ready, telling him not

to come even when the party should go forth, but to wait until the fight began. The other servants I told to report me ill, and in bed with a cold since morning, should any one call for me. Then I put on my chain armour under my clothes and went to bed and waited for my messenger. But he, to my surprise, did not come until evening, until the middle of the dog hour, and then he said; "They expected to start at the bird hour, but men went back and forth and made peace at last. Uesugi asked me my business and I told him, what you had said."

The next evening one of Seki's sons called and said,—"So you were coming to help us?" "Yes," I replied. "But you are imprisoned; and how did you expect to get out?" he asked. "By the small gate on the west." "That" he said, "is guarded by day and shut at night. How did you expect to get through?" "The other gates are strongly guarded: that only by an old man and woman who keep the key in a little house by the side. Should they let me out I could go and die and no one be the wiser, nor their fault be known. I expected assent, but should they refuse I purposed to cut off their heads, take the key and go."

Whereon he;—"My father and yours were old friends and it was a matter of course that you should help us. But you were under arrest and could not come out! To have killed those two old folks, and have forced the gate would have been a dreadful crime!" And then I laughed,—"Was it not a crime then to collect a band and fight? You purposed killing the leading *samurai*, I, two old people. We are like in this—we both purposed killing the people of our lord, but considering the difference in the rank of our intended victims my crime was small. But when I knew of your plan, if I had not joined you the Kobu would

have thought me no *samurai*, though of course he would have said nothing. Had I been a real criminal I should have been bound hand and foot, but not being bound I was at liberty to go out at a time like this. Had I remained a spectator, the law would have been silent as I was under arrest, and I might have taken contemptible advantage of my position and so have saved my life. Or had I been of the good natured age I might have worked for peace, but I am not yet twenty, and peace-making is not my virtue. Not to help my friends would be my shame. You need not thank me for it. In joining an unlawful deed one more unlawful deed goes for nothing." He had nothing to say but went away and told his father, who exclaimed,—"Ah! He is his father's son!" and wept joyful tears.

When I was in disgrace I had thought with sorrow,—Father will not forgive me even if the Kobu does, but when the Kobu restored me to my old place father was greatly pleased. Seki wrote him in full of this affair and he did not ask even why I had been punished. For when father joyfully showed mother Seki's letter with its account of my purpose, and conversation with Seki's son she said,—"Because of this forgive him for the past." As I now see, this event was the beginning of the sad fall of the Kobu's house.

When the Kobu died his eldest son succeeded him as Yoshū, Iyo no Kami. This man who destroyed his house was very displeasing to his father, and the two had met only on New Year's day for a long time. The household did not know of Yoshū's bad conduct, but thought it a plan on the Kobu's part to make his son by a concubine his heir. Yoshū divorced his wife and she bore him a son afterwards, whom the Kobu sent to Kadzusa and left there

until he was twelve or thirteen. Then the Kobu sent for him that he might show him to the household, but Yoshū thought the boy was to be made heir and kept him away on various pretexts, and finally let him come only when the Kobu was fatally ill. So the Kobu died with the thought, " My house will perish with my son."

So the Kobu's intimate retainers did not look upon Yoshū as heir, especially father who did not perform his duties for a day. Yoshū was greatly angered for he knew it was from distrust, and so he accepted father's resignation giving him only just enough for subsistence; and did not kill nor expel him. Yoshū feared to do that. Nor did I get father's allowance but was left unemployed, for I was not liked as I had been brought up from childhood at the Kobu's knee.

A year later father was slandered and so Yoshū took away his allowance, expelled us, and shut the door to employment on me. My parents were cared for by their adopted son in Ōshū and I did not know in the least what I should do. I became a *rōnin*, with only two followers, and lived with the merchants. My friends wished to employ me as a teacher for their sons, but I did not fancy it. Instead, I attended the lectures of famous teachers mornings and evenings, and paid my respects to my parents at noon.

About that time I saw my elder sister, who had died when nineteen, in a dream. I was greatly troubled and at day break went to my parents. They told me my younger sister was confined. So I went to her place. Her child was born easily but sister died soon after. So I was with my parents more than ever. The next summer I again saw sister in a dream and hurried to my parents. Nothing was the matter: but in a brief hour mother was taken ill

and after a while died. So father and I were left in our sorrow, lonely beyond expression.

There was an old *ronin* who had often been at the Kōbu's that came to father and said;—"Yoshū will never employ your son again, for he particularly hates all who were trusted by the Kōbu; I have known your boy from his youth and share your grief that he cannot be a *samurai*. Now I have a rich merchant friend who has a daughter but no son, and wants to marry his daughter to a *samurai* and will leave all his fortune to his son-in-law. He has entrusted the affair to me, and if your son will have her he can provide amply for you. "It is to talk this over that I have called." Father replied, "Many thanks, but my son is not a child and I decide nothing for him. Consult with him." So father told me when next I saw him and I promised to see the man and went to his place. "Very many thanks for your kindness," I said to him, "but I have other plans and cannot consent." Then I went home and told father,—"I know it is a grief to you that we are in such a condition and so poor, but I was born your son and shall never become the son of another. And in spite of poverty and of the fact that I cannot be employed anywhere, I shall not forsake that *samurai* path which my father and grandfather trod and become a merchant." Father was highly pleased. "There are many men of many minds," he said "and though your father I cannot decide such things for you. You answered well. It is filial piety to throw one's self away to help one's aged parent but such conduct as yours is great filial piety. * I

* Mencius gives the differing degrees of filial piety. The *samurai* on Hakone Pass p. 13 ante illustrated filial piety but Arai nourished his father's heart instead of his body and so showed "great filial piety." He also

purposed to endure this poverty when I resigned my office and you need feel no concern at all."

Another man planned a physician's career for me and said,—"Most physicians now-a-days are ignorant and with your learning and ability you can soon surpass them all. The profession is not ignoble. Will you not learn it and so support your father?" But I replied, "Medicine is for the aid of others, and I might well adopt this profession since I have no other prospects. But I have neither the learning nor the ability, and were I to hurt men I should not have the physician's benevolence. I cannot do this well, and the Ancients said, 'Do not kill innocent men.'"

At this time I had a student friend who was the son of the richest man in Japan, and he said to me,—"Father thinks you will be a famous scholar and told me to propose a marriage with the daughter of my deceased elder brother. Father will give you a mansion costing three thousand *ryo* and all you need for your studies." I replied, "I shall never forget your kindness but must tell you this old story, —One summer a man was resting in the Divine Monntain with his feet in the water when a tiny snake came and licked his toe. Soon it went away, but only to return at once grown bigger. It licked his toe again, and a third time came, still bigger, and took his toe into its mouth. So when it went away the man put his short sword on his toe and when the snake came back again, yet larger than before, it took toe and sword into its mouth and the man jerking the sword cut the snake's mouth. It fled and he

showed loyalty—by remaining unemployed until restored by his own lord. For to be employed by another would indicate that he had been unworthy of punishment and this would reflect upon his master. "Though the Lord ceases to be Lord, the retainer is still retainer," Sho Kyō.

went into the house and shut the door, and lo, a great hubbub without. After an hour he went out and there dead before the house was a monstrous snake, ten feet long, with a frightful wound a foot in length across its head.

The story, as likely as not, is not true but it serves to illustrate your proposal. The small snake got a small wound, but the cut grew with its growth and became a foot in length. Should I, ignorant and unknown, accept your proposal the wound would be small, but should I really become famous it too would be great. To make a wounded scholar with three thousand *ryō* is not amusing, and besides, I do not want the small wound even now. Tell your father what I say." The girl afterwards married a well known scholar. Father fully approved my act, thinking it a matter of course and my illustration pat.

In the summer of my twenty third year Yoshū's house was destroyed and, as I have written, I was again given employment. When twenty-six I was recommended to Ki no Masatoshi Asson, Hotta Chikuzen no Kami. In the autumn of my twenty-eighth year he was killed, having been charged with plotting against the emperor, though there was no proof of his guilt. His son was very unfortunate and cut down the allowance of his *samurai* and many left his service. I was not in confidential relations with him or with his father, but would not leave at such a time, for if one has enough for himself and family such desertions are not loyal, even though the service be unsatisfactory. It is natural that a *samurai* should be poor, yet he must maintain his station, but finally my funds all gave out.

So in the spring of my thirty-fifth year I wrote out my thoughts and presented the paper to my lord, asking dis-

missal. I told my friends I had long desired this, but remained because of my lord's misfortunes. They urged me to remain saying, " Your livelihood is provided for and if you go away you lose even that. Consider your wife and children if you do not care for yourself." But I told them " either I should have left the service long before or have accomplished something in it, had he been fortunate. But in his misfortune it was the duty of a *samurai* to endure for years. Now this going forth without knowing the future and with wife and children, will show my true quality and purpose. Heavens knows all, and there is no such fear as you suggest." But my lord made no reply, nor told me his thought and so summer passed into autumn while he refused his consent. In the early autumn my child was born and when I again asked for my dismissal it was given me.

CHAPTER V.

LECTURER TO LORD KŌFU.

I had, say, thirty cents in money and a few quarts of rice, so there was no danger of hunger for a few days. With wife and children I went to the temple Kōtoku in Asakusa, (we had long been parishioners there), and took a house in the neighborhood. A man servant and a maid went with us. I tried to dissuade them and told them I had nothing for them, but they would go and said they could provide for their own wants.

The younger brother of a man I had formerly taught heard of our circumstances and most unexpectedly offered

to provide for us until I should find employment. Toward the end of autumn I moved to the east of the castle and there the number of my pupils constantly increased and there were many men of position among them.

The next spring a man named Tani said to me,—"You are from a house that is in ill repute with the Shōgun and you follow a master who is unemployed. So your advancement is slow and difficult, though your learning is great. Consider your interests and change your school." At first I only laughed at the suggestion, but when it was repeated the third time I replied :—"You mean it for my good but you mistake. You remember how the disciples of Confucius still thought his teaching that which they should learn, even when he was unemployed by the government, and suffered with him and followed him out of office as when he was in power. In gratitude for their favours we are taught to follow father, lord and teacher until death. My father is dead : I have no lord, and can only follow my teacher until death." So Tani was silenced. *

Kinoshita recommended me to his old lord, the prince of Kaga, but a man named Okajima Chūshirō, from that province, begged me to give place to him as he wished to return to Kaga to care for his aged mother ; but, he added, the recommendation must come from Kinoshita. So I told Kinoshita that I was ready to serve any daimyō but should refuse this appointment as I did not wish to stand in the way of Okajima. Kinoshita wept at my words and

* Hayashi was Minister of Education and in favour with the fifth Shōgun. He was the head of the official scholars. And so Tani advised Arai to leave Kinoshita and enroll his name, as a matter of form, among Hayashi's followers.

said,—"Such conduct in these times is extraordinary. It is worthy of the ancients!" And he recommended Okajima forthwith and told everyone what I had done.

On the tenth day of the tenth month of my thirty-seventh year, Kōriki Io no Kami asked Kinoshita who was first among his followers, adding "Toda Nagato no Kami sent me to ask." (Now Toda was chief minister of Lord Kōfu, the Shōgun's heir.) Kinoshita replied, Arai of course, as you know." And on the fifteenth he said to me, "Kōriki has not been here for a long time. Go and see him." So I went to him and was asked many questions. On the fifth day of the twelfth month Kōriki again visited Kinoshita, told him Toda's views, and arranged for my recommendation. However, Kinoshita thought the salary too small and said he must first consult with me. He came to me that night, the next day saw Kōriki again, was with me the following evening when I gave him my answer, and on the morning of the seventh our letter was sent in.

The first offer was an allowance for thirty men, but Kinoshita refused at once saying," Though learning cannot be measured by the pay yet the world judges by that. Some of my pupils who are inferior to Arai get more than you offer him. Besides, he has not always been a teacher but has twice held office as a *samurai* and so has his rank." So Kōriki came again and said, "You are right and we'll give him an allowance for forty men. Let him take that and we will see as to the future." Kinoshita would not agree even then, but I thought, Lord Kōfu is heir and so cannot be compared with other princes. If I now refuse I must hereafter refuse all offers unless the salary is larger. We do not know our fate, and I will accept. Kinoshita

thought I should wait a while before answering but I wished to reply at once and so our letter was sent.

I afterwards heard that Hayashi, Minister of Education, had refused the place for his disciples and that Toda heard of me and wished to recommend me but could not, as I was not enrolled among Hayashi's followers. And this was the reason Tani had come to me. A follower of Hayashi got the place, but was soon given other employment, and then my engagement followed.

On the fifteenth I was summoned to the residence of Lord Kōfu and going on the morning of the sixteenth was made his retainer by Toda and the other ministers. On the eighteenth I met my lord, and began my lectures, on the twenty-second, with an exposition of the "Great Learning."

At the beginning of the new year my lord said to me,—"I have thrice read the 'Four Classics," the "Little Learning" and the *Kin-shi-roku* (A Cento from the Ancients); but still do not fully understand the Way of the Sages. What should I study now?" I replied in substance that the four great scholars teach the Ancient Sages' Way for the government of self and others, and must be our teachers in act and heart. Great government and great laws are set forth in the "Five Books" and these must be studied with the others. You have still time and with diligence your great ability will soon be apparent. Let us begin with the Book of Odes and the Book of Rites." So I expounded the former and Yoshida (a scholar of Hayashi's school) the latter, in daily lectures.

Toward the end of that month my daughter died of the small pox and my son had the disease, so I began my lectures on the thirteenth of the second month and, that year,

lectured one hundred and sixty two days, finishing on the twentieth of the eleventh month. I illustrated my lectures with sketches.

The next year I lectured upon the Book of History and as we still had time left each day, at my lord's request, we read the History of China by Chūhi. That year I lectured seventy one days and ended on the eleventh day of the twelfth month.

The following year I began the Spring and Autumn,* using the great commentaries, and Yoshida lectured on the Book of Changes. For six years I lectured on the Spring and Autumn, one hundred and fifty seven days in all, and kept on with Chūhi's history until my lord's death. †

After my lecture we usually went to another room and took our ease. My lord would ask me questions about China and Japan and especially as to the history of the House of Tokugawa. So, at his request, I wrote a history of all the daimyō of more than ten thousand *koku*. I would first make an outline and, as he approved, would fill it out, making careful inquiry of the different daimyō. I began to write on the eleventh of the seventh month and finished in the tenth month. The history was chiefly occupied with the events of the eighty years from 1600 to 1660. It relates how the estates of 337 daimyō were won, inherited, augmented or decreased. It is in twenty parts, one part introduction, two for conclusion and index and ten for the Tokugawa family. I wrote the preface myself and presented it to the Shōgun, the eighteenth March, 1702. He named it Hankanpu.

* A history by Confucius.

† The work is in 500 vols. The Five Books are the five classical Scriptures of the Chinese.

At first I expounded the Book of Odes, then the Four Classics with the Book of Filial Piety, and parts of the Book of Rites. After my lord became Shōgun I went as his messenger to Kyōto, and when the Korean embassy came I met it. Excepting these times, nineteen years were given to learning and I lectured 1299 times before my lord. Others also lectured occasionally or regularly, especially on the Classics and thus history and the Classics were studied thoroughly. I have heard of no other ruler so fond of learning in China or Japan.

In the end of the autumn of 1695 my lord told me to make a list of the books he should read, and, with Kinoshita's help, I made one, naming one hundred and some tens of works. In the twelfth month he set two men to cataloguing his other books, and their list embraced two hundred works in Chinese and Japanese. He told several of us to put our own mark on any work we desired, but each so deferred to the others that very few were taken. I took only eleven books of those left by the others, for some of the works I had and others I thought more useful to the other retainers. But my lord detained me and said, "Here are some books I am particularly fond of. I send them to your son;" and he gave me the Six Classics. The next New Year's day I made a special feast for Kinoshita, showed him the books and got him to write an introduction for them.

The fifth October, 1698, my house was burnt and my lord sent me fifty gold *ryō* to help build my temporary dwelling. Others of his retainers lost their dwellings but I was the only one thus favored. But as I could rebuild with my own funds, and as the gift would be lost should the new house burn, I determined to buy something with the money

that could not burn. So I bought a suit of armour and a helmet, and thus showed my readiness to die in his service. I give them, with the sword I afterwards received, to my eldest son that my descendants may know my purpose. Five years later, December 1703, my house again burned, but the armour and helmet were saved and I have them yet.

Kinoshita died the twenty-fourth December 1698 (aged 78) and at his request I had charge, with another scholar, of his obsequies.

Yearly, when the lectures began, we had an opening ceremony, and the courses of study for the year were determined. At the end of the ceremony I was always given two suits of clothes.

Lectures began on the fifteenth day of the first month and were continued, even on ordinary festivals days, until the end of the twelfth month, being interrupted only by very great events.

When I became feeble my lord bade me come in the evening during the hot weather, and in the middle of the day in winter. He had a fire box set between us and another behind me when the weather was very cold. When it rained or snowed he always sent a servant to bid me stay at home.

He wore his robes of ceremony at the lectures save in summer when he wore his unextended robes and a *hakama.** He did not sit on the dais but on the mats, nine feet from me. Even in the hottest weather he did not use his fan, nor brush away the mosquitoes, and when he had a cold he carefully averted his head when he blew his nose. Though the lecture lasted two hours, all present sat immovable throughout.

* The skirt worn by samurai.

Spring and autumn he took me with him to his villa, and gave me a special apartment with wine and tea. · Often he asked us to write verse.

My lord gave me costumes at the four seasons and at the end of the year gifts of gold and silver; and he began this before he became Shōgun. When he moved to the Castle he sent very fine silks for my wife and children in the spring, and in the summer fine thin silks for them, with cakes. He often sent these last, and this became the custom and was continued by his successor, although it was done for no one else.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GREAT EARTHQUAKE.

On the thirtieth of December, 1703, when I was living in Yushima, Hongō, at one o'clock in the morning I was astonished by a violent movement of the earth. Opening my eyes I seized my sword and rushed out as the slides about my room and those about the house fell. Going to the rooms of my wife and children, I found them gone. There was high ground at the back of my house which I feared, and so we gathered at the front and put wooden slides (doors) under us lest the earth should open.

There I left my family while I put on my robes of ceremony and went to my lord's, taking three servants with me and leaving the others with my wife. We went on the run. I feared I should be very thirsty and had taken out some medicine and put it on one side while I dressed, but disgracefully forgot it as I ran out in my haste.

As I hurried by the east gate of Kanda Myōjin there was another violent shock. All the merchants left their houses and gathered in the plaza, and I told them to put out the lights in their shops for fear of fire. At Megane bridge, I met my wife's younger brother going to our place, and told him to go on and take charge there.

Crossing the bridge I turned south, then west, then south again, and by the light of the moon saw a man on horseback in the middle of the street. It was Fujieda, lord of Wakasa, and he had been stopped by some water whose depth he did not know. Followed by my servants I jumped across and wet my feet but put on other sandals and went on. At Kanda bridge there was another terrible shock. The crash of houses was like the breaking of chopsticks, and the cries of men mingled with the noise. The stones of the castle wall fell on the dogpath with clouds of dust. We thought the bridge would fall, and were separated from the bank by a gap of three or four feet which we jumped, and ran into the gateway. The boards which covered the plaster on the houses shook like cloth and fell with a crash.

As I came to the Tatsu-no-kuchi, I saw fire arising in my lord's enclosure, and as it was low down feared the mansion had fallen. So I was greatly troubled and my heart rushed ahead at such a pace that my feet seemed to stand still.

Going a quarter of a mile or so I heard a horse, and looking back saw Fujieda.—"I am greatly troubled by the fire," I said, "you are the lord of Wakasa I take it." "Yes," he answered, "pardon my preceding you." At the Hibiya gate the guard house had fallen and I heard cries of the dying. A little further on was Fujieda, dis-

mounted, stopped by a hill of tiles fallen from the guard house of the Sakurada gate which his horse could not pass. "Please come with me," I said, and we climbed over and went in. As we went in through the small gate we saw that the guard house had fallen and was in flames, and that the mansion still stood; and we were comforted.

The great west gate stood open though the guard house had fallen and Fujieda passed in, but I said, "I'll go through the small west gate as usual." But the buildings had so fallen that I could not get in, and I again met Fujieda and took him to the kitchen entrance where we got through at last. The ceiling was hanging from one corner but I passed through and went to my usual place near my lord's. There I met the present lord of Echizen, Zembō Asson and asked him of my lord's safety, and told him I had ventured to come without waiting to be summoned, and we went to my lord's apartment. The roof of the verandah on the east, was covered by a house which had fallen on it, and the attendants were all in the garden at the south, and they told us that my lord was in the garden still beyond. Toda, Koide, Inoue and others were in the south garden and we consulted with Igarashi who was in charge of the apartments and took out some ten mats and spreading them in the garden all sat down.

The shaking continued and the hills by the garden pond fell, making the broad pond narrow. Sakae Saemon-no-jō Masatada was commanded to put out the conflagration; and indeed were it to continue we should all have to move again.

My lord was dressed in *hakama* with an outer robe, and as he went to the south of his apartment he saw and called me. I went to him, and was asked about past

earthquakes and then he went to his apartment. When day dawned he said, "I shall go to the office." I said in the ear of the lord of Nagato, "With these severe shocks continuing is that wise?" "No," he replied, "but I could not venture to stop him," and, meanwhile, he was gone. As I could not accompany him I went to see the fire.

Many bodies had been pulled from the ruins, and as the wells were dry there was no water, except in the pond and it was forbidden to use that.

The lord of Oki took me to breakfast to Zenbō's house. During the night I had eaten nothing but a trifle Dr. Sakamoto had given me from his sleeve, which I had soaked in water, and I was very hungry and ate much and drank some wine. Going away, as I passed the house of the lord of Ichi, I was invited in and given tea.

When I heard that my lord was returning I went to meet him, and went back across the gardens with him and his two ministers to the place where he had asked me about the earthquakes. He said that the crowds reminded him of the throngs he had seen in his youth when he went to Ueno to see the flowers.

The fire was put out at last; and at one o'clock my lord came out again and called for me and asked about my family. I told him I had heard nothing since the previous night when I had left them. Then he said,—"When I went to my villa at Yanaka, I was told that your house stands at the foot of a hill." "So it does," I replied. "This shaking may continue for days," he said, and if there is another shock as severe as last night you need not come again. Now go home."

As I went out I found some of my people. Those

who had come with me had been relieved by others, and had been back to my house and had come again; and their report that all was well removed my anxiety. I got home at three o'clock in the afternoon.

The next day when I went to my lord's, I found that the mansion was so aslant that a temporary building had been set up on the eastern polo ground and that my lord was there.

The earthquakes continued and I feared fire. The plaster had fallen off my storehouse and I had it moistened and put on again. As I expected, on the night of the sixth there was a fire. I put all my valuables in the storehouse; but as I feared the plaster would fall off again with the repeated shocks we dug a big hole, and put my books and manuscripts in it, covered it with six mats and put earth on top and fled. The neighboring houses burned and when we returned we found one had fallen across our hole and was still on fire. We put it out and pulled away the timbers. They had displaced the earth and one of the mats was on fire. We pulled it away and put it out. The store house was unharmed; and we laughed at our misplaced labour.

CHAPTER VII.

PROMOTION.

On the thirty-first of December, 1704, my lord was made the heir apparent. I hurried with my congratulations as soon as I heard the news. All passers were stopped at Tatsu-no-guchi because of the preparations for his removal

to the western castle. Giving my name and business I was permitted to pass.

At my lord's mansion I met a crowd of officials who had come to accompany him; and I sought out Zembō Asson who was eating. I sent in my congratulations through him and said, as he finished his meal. "Tell my lord that I have nothing to add to my instructions given in the years past. Remember them and it will be well with the empire. I came to say this." Afterwards I was told that my lord replied.—"Surely I shall not forget them. Have you forgotten, Zembō?"

Then I remained at home for twenty days or so when a man said to me, "All Lord Kōfu's retainers have been promoted and made retainers of the Heir Apparent excepting you and me. Others sent in their petitions and I shall send in mine. Join me." But I replied, "That him we served so long has reached this exalted position is enough. I ask no other reward. In spite of my worthlessness I have long been his teacher and now shall do nothing on my own account unless summoned. I prefer to rise or fall in accordance with the precedents and for the sake of the empire. Though others petition yet with these views I cannot. Thanks for your information but I cannot act with you."

After one day, on the evening of the twentieth, I was told that preparations were being made for the promotion of several of us to the immediate presence of the Heir.

The twenty-first, at the monkey hour (four p.m.) Zembō came for me and I went at once. Others also had been detailed for our reception, there were seven of us, and conducted us to the appointed place and there three nobles met us. Zembō and Koide gave us our in-

struction from the Heir and then all departed, I only being asked to remain. I was told who were my superiors, what would be my duties and my place of attendance. Koide said to me, "Our lord's affairs are now the affairs of the empire and we alas! are wanting in ability and knowledge. Do not fail to remonstrate and advise freely for we depend upon your great learning." This was when we two were alone. Alas! Shortly after he died, through evil fortune. Zembō came to me after the others were gone, and told me the events of the past weeks and when my lectures should begin and their hours. I went home an hour later. (After this I entered my lord's enclosure by the middle gate, passed her grace's apartments and entered my lord's private rooms.)

On the twenty-third came a letter bidding me to the New Year's festival.

The next day I went to the castle and on the eleventh began my lectures, and continued daily as before.

On the twenty-third of September, 1705, I was advanced one grade in rank.

The next year, twenty-fifth of June, 1706, I was given land, timber and two hundred *ryō* for a new house, and removed to it on the second of September. On the seventh of the same month I was permitted to go to the castle by the private gate of the mapletree hill and the back entrance.

When my lord's child was born, I was informed with the family and went with them to pay my respects.

When my lord heard of my removal he gave me permission to use another entrance to the castle. I lived near the Pheasant bridge and the gate was a small one near by. On the last day of the month I was invited

to the "*Nō*" performance in the castle in honor of the infant, and I went in company with its uncle, the younger brother of its mother. (This child lived only a little while.)

On the seventeenth of December, 1706, I was summoned to the castle. The night before there had been an earthquake, that morning there were sounds like thunder, ashes covered the ground like snow and a thick cloud in the south-west flashed like lightning. As I entered the castle the ashes covered the ground, and trees and grass were white. My lord had gone to the palace of the Shōgun and returned at the sheep hour (two p.m.). The heavens were black as I went to him and I lectured by candle light. The ashes ceased falling in the dog hour, (eight p. m.) but the earth continued its shaking and roar. On the nineteenth again the heavens were darkened, there were thunderings and at evening ashes fell in abundance. We learned that day that Mt. Fuji was in eruption. Black ashes fell constantly until the eleventh of January (1708). On the twentieth it snowed and every one had a cold. On New Year's day it rained heavily. (23 Jan. 1708).

On the first of March an edict commanded the removal of the ashes from the base of Mt. Fuji, in the four provinces of Musashi, Sagami, Suruga and Mikawa; and as the expense was great, a tax of six *ryō* per hundred *koku* of land was laid upon each daimyō.

On the fifteenth a new currency called "*tōju*" was made. In April was a wonderful fall of white hair, some of it coming on my own ground. Folks further reported many wonderful things, but I put down only what I saw.

Toward the end of July the people who lived near my

house were compelled to move, to make room for the erection of a new palace at the north of the castle.

Near the end of September a law was issued forbidding the cutting of horses' hair, and all, both those led and those ridden, soon looked like beasts from the wilderness.

In early November the "*tōju*" were issued.

In the same month three laws for the protection of birds and beasts were issued, and so even men whose duty it was to ride walked instead and led their horses.

Shopkeepers disliked the "*tōju*" and would not take them, so the government commanded every one to send in his promise to accept them at once, and while this work was still incomplete the year ended.*

The Shōgun was ill, and my lord held the New Year's reception in his stead. (10th Feb. 1709) I was ill and remained at home. In the afternoon of the tenth I saw a great hurrying to and fro and in the evening was astonished to learn that the Shōgun was dead. (20th February 1709).

* The "*tōju*" were inconvenient in shape and worth only three tenths of their nominal value. The people naturally did not want to use them and very severe penalties were threatened. For the laws about beasts see supra p–3 intro. The new mansion was the final extravagance of the fifth Shōgun.

BOOK II.

ADVISER TO THE SHŌGUN.

CHAPTER I.

THE SHŌGUN'S TREASURY.

On the tenth day of the new year I heard of the Shōgun's death and we were all summoned, for the next day, to the western castle. I took a confidential communication for the Shōgun and purposed sending it to my lord by Zembō but he was so occupied that I could not see him and I sent it in by his younger brother, Akihira. I had written of the three most important things that needed immediate reform. That evening rain fell, the first since the second December.

I went daily but did not meet Zembō until the fifteenth when I asked as to my papers. On the 17th the "tōju" were recalled, and again it rained all night. At this time the removal of the dwellings from the north of the castle was likewise stopped.

On the nineteenth the Shōgun asked me about the *Genwa-rei** of Ieyasu and I went home and wrote an exposition of it and before I had started the next day was summoned in haste. And that afternoon as I intended to go home the Shōgun sent for me again. That day the decree for the protection of birds and beasts was repealed.

* The *Genwa-rei* is a collection of laws or maxims for the guidance of the Tokugawa House, supposed to have been formed by Ieyasu.

The funeral rites were on the twenty-second. They had been postponed because of the rain which fell from the 17th to the 20th. *

Many servants of the late Shōgun desired to become priests at his death and Kippo his prime minister was told to select eleven. He himself wished to be of the number as he had been especially favored by his master and had been elevated from a low position to his present rank. The Shōgun recognised the force of his plea but would not grant the request as it did not accord with usage and might be made a precedent. But Kippo was told that he might resign, give his honors to his son and then become a priest if he so wished; and this he did. †

On the 18th Hayashi, Minister of Education, was told to write the epitaph for the late Shōgun, as this had been the duty of Hayashi's house for generations past. So he wrote it and on the 19th presented it with his proofs that it accorded with the precedents. But I showed the Shōgun that it was badly written, mistaken and not ac-

* The Classics teach that the actions of statesmen influence Heaven. The evil laws of the late Shōgun brought Fuji's eruption, earthquakes, etc., and drought; but their repeal brought the longed for rain. The funeral was postponed to permit the repeal, for the Classics say, "Change not your father's way for three years," but by a legal fiction while the late Shōgun was unburied he was not dead and the repeal was possible, as his act.

† During ancient times certain servants were buried with their lords, but later images were substituted for the men. During the ages of feudal strife the custom revived, as an expression of enthusiastic loyalty and love. Leading *samurai* desired the honour. The custom was finally abolished in A.D. 1664. But the ministers and confidential officials gave up office—and, as above, often entered monasteries on the death of their lord —construing literally the maxim—a *samurai* cannot serve two masters.

cording to precedent. So I was bidden to write one and mine and Hayashi's were sent to the priest in Nikko who judged that mine was right. So it was sent to Hayashi and he was told to write with it as model, and so he did.

On the 27th I sent in another communication to the Shōgun :—" Ieyasu was endowed with courage and wisdom and won the Empire. Moreover, his long line of illustrious ancestors so transmitted their virtues to him that he was enabled to bequeath the Empire to his heirs. He had many children and while some died young four became lords of great provinces. The second Shōgun had three sons but after the trouble of the lord of Suruga only the adopted son of the lord of Aidzu was left, besides the heir. Two sons of the third Shōgun became daimyō. The fourth Shōgun had no son but, at his death, adopted his brother as his heir. He had a son who died immediately his father became Shōgun, and as there was no other son Lord Kofu was made heir. Thus twice has the line failed and twice have heirs been adopted since the third Shōgun, surely a grievous thing within an hundred years of Ieyasu. It has not been without its cause.

" Now that your Highness has become Shōgun I deeply feel the need of a reform in the government, and for a renewed connection with the virtue of Ieyasu for Heaven has taken notice of the evil. However, after my teaching for so many years I need not dwell on this.

But one thing should be done at once, Let the children of the Emperor no longer be forced to become monks and nuns but give his sons establishments and let his daughters be married. Nobunaga began the work

of restoring the state of the Imperial Family, Hideyoshi continued it and Ieyasu completed it but still the Prince Imperial only is provided with an establishment. The others are left as before, to save expense as otherwise the family might become too numerous; and to avoid entangling alliances and a possible revolt against the Tokugawa rule. Neither reason is good. The Tokugawa Shōgun prepare estates for their children. Even common men do the same and it is the especial wish of men of rank. Why should the Emperor only be forbidden to provide for his own?

"The expense will not be too great for the Empire to sustain, as the number of the Emperor's family is ordained by Heaven and cannot be exceeded. So in the Tokugawa line there have been two failures in an hundred years."

"Nor is there danger from alliances. When as in the Genji and Hōjō times there is misgovernment, though the Emperor's sons be priests they may leave their retirement and head armies like Takakura-no-Miya and Daitō-no-Miya. If the government is good there is no cause for fear, and if evil there is no escape; so let us stop this practice and set up establishments for the sons, and marry the daughters to the members of the Tokugawa family."

The Shōgun listened attentively and said so great a proposal needed careful thought. Both suggestions were adopted.

This one thing I did for the country which gave me birth and whose Imperial favor I had received. *

* The Shōgun in this acted against the advice of the officials. He established the family of Kan-in-no-miya and from this branch of the Imperial House comes the present Emperor, H.I.M. Mutsuhito. The only time the advice as to the daughters was followed was in 1861.

But alas! as I had feared in secret my lord died and the line was broken again, though the present Shōgun, through Ieyasu's wise plan, continues the family to the blessing of the Empire.

My argument was very long and gave the Chinese and Japanese precedents. It is not easy reading for the unlearned, and I have put down here only its brief outline.

I also urged that the Shōgun's investiture be brought in haste from Kyoto.

On the 14th of March (1709) I was called to the castle and told the following by Zembō Asson at the request of the Shōgun :—Since the funeral as the ministers have been on duty in turn in the castle this has been the topic of their discussion viz.—Our Lord must take his proper place at once and occupy the palace of the Shōgun without delay. Now the custom is that the palace of the late Shōgun be destroyed and a new one built for his successor. But the treasury is bare and we cannot build.

Under the late Shōgun, Ōkubo, Lord of Kaga, was minister of finance and he left everything to Shigehide, Lord of Omi, Kippo Lord of Mino, and Shigetomi Lord of Tsushima, Kaga did not know the condition of the treasury and the other officials were still more ignorant. Everything was in Shigehide's hands and this is his statement of the present situation,—

The income is 4,000,000 *koku* of rice and 760,000 or 770,000 gold *ryō*. 40,000 *ryō* were from the Nagasaki customs and 6,000 *ryō* from the Edo sake tax .300,000 *ryō* go for salaries and the remainder is for all else. But last year the expenditure was 1,400,000 *ryō* besides 700,000 or 800,000 *ryō* needed for the new palace in Kyoto. So the deficit is very large. Even were the late

Shōgun still alive we should have nothing, but now we need in addition money for the elaborate ceremonies on the forty-ninth day after the late Shōgun's death, for the erection of the mortuary chapel, for the Shōgun's new palace and for the Imperial palace in Kyoto. We have only 370,000 *ryō* in all; of this 240,000 *ryō* is the balance of the 400,000 *ryō* collected for the removal of the ashes from the base of Mt. Fuji. This balance we had purposed to use in the erection of the palace to the north of the castle. But should it be used for present needs it will not meet the tenth part of them.

Kaga-no-Kami was astonished at this statement and found, on consultation with Shigehide that the expenditures of the late Shōgun were twice his revenues and that the treasury was thus exhausted. So in 1695 the gold and silver coinages were debased and that year and the following a profit was made of 5,000,000 *ryō* and so the deficit was met. But all was used in the expenditures entailed by the earthquake of 1703 and the deficit reappeared. So in August 1706 they again debased the silver and yet the deficit was not met. So last year Tsushima-no-Kami advised the debasing of the copper coins "having no other means to meet the deficit."

As Kaga-no-Kami knew nothing of all this the other officials simply adopted the plans of Shigehide, Ōmi-no-Kami. The Shōgun had known that the treasury was bare but had not imagined such an extremity. He can not find it in his heart to debase the coinage further and desires some other means of relief. But Ōmi-no-Kami replies to him; "Though blamed for debasing the coinage what other resource remained? How else could the government have been carried on the past thirteen years and the

suffering caused by the earthquake and other calamities have been relieved? Hereafter, in good years we can easily restore the value of the coins." And all the officials agreed with him, that calamities cannot be guarded against and that Ōmi-no-Kami's suggestion is the only one possible. But the Shōgun exclaimed,—"Though that sounds reasonable still had not the coinage been debased perhaps the calamities had not come. * And if others come there will be no remedy remaining and the Tokugawa house will end with me! Why then should I torture the people? Find some other remedy!" When the Shōgun said this those present wept bitterly and could say nothing, until after a little Akimoto Tajima-no-Kami said, "We thank you for your words" and all withdrew. The Shōgun tells you to consider this subject well as the discussion affects the whole Empire.

As I listened to this account I thought of the funds in Ōsaka and further that last year's revenue must be still on hand as only the funds of the last year but one could be used for current needs. But on inquiry I was told that all was gone. In Ieyasu's time thirty great gold pieces † had been made and stored as a resource for need in time of war; but I was told that only one or two remained. But still I sent this answer to the Shōgun.—"The Book of Changes says, "When things are at the worst a way appears." And now, though the funds are gone yet the Empire is the Shōgun's. Why should he be troubled. I will arrange his affairs."

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* Again the theories that natures evils are punishments for misgovernment.

† These were stored not in Ieyasu's time but in the period Manji. Each contained 44 *kwan* 700 *me.*

Before this occurred I had another matter I wished to lay before the Shōgun, and so that night I wrote and on the morrow sent him two papers through Zembō. Their import is summed up in the words of Confucius in the analects when he undertook the government;—"Be careful and so use truth: Be economical and so cherish men: employ men with regard for the times;" and in the Great Learning, "If producers are many and consumers few: If users use slowly and workers work fast, there will ever be enough." This I have taught so thoroughly in the past that I need not enlarge upon it now, but if we act upon it the treasury will be full in a few years. To stop the debasing of the currency is to confer a blessing on the people. The ceremonies of the forty-ninth day, the erection of the mortuary chapel and the investiture must go on whether there is money or not; but were the treasury full, it would not accord with filial piety to destroy the old palace and build a new one at once. Business can be carried on in the castle and let the Shōgun abide in his present mansion. By and by when there is money a new one can be built.

I do not agree with Ōmi-no-Kami that we have only 370,000 *ryō*, for the money spent last year was collected the year before and we have 760,000 *ryō* of last year's taxes still. (Ōmi-no-Kami had reasons of his own for concealing this.) So in all we have more than 1,100,000 *ryō*. Need I add, that things required at once may be paid for later on? Pay what we must, postpone what we may, say a half, and we can do all. Then let a proportion of the late Shōgun's debts be paid each year till all is paid. As of old Feng I of the Later Han dynasty said, "Let the nation not forget the attacks of the northern

tribes," so I beg that our condition be not forgotten but that care be exercised; and a great blessing will be bestowed upon the Empire.

The Shōgun was greatly pleased with my counsel and when I went to the castle on the sixth, further debasement of the coinage and the destruction of the late Shōgun's palace had both been forbidden. This was the first of my being consulted on affairs of state. *

CHAPTER II.

SUNDRY AFFAIRS OF STATE.

On the twelfth of March I sent in a memorial to the Shōgun concerning the pardoning of criminals. The following is its import:—Of old the pardoning power was used for the rectification of errors or for the release of those whose relatives needed their aid; but now it is used indiscriminately, for those whose guilt is great as well as for those whose offence was small, for the convicted as for those still unconvicted. Relatives petition and the governors decide and then summon all who are pardoned to the temples and there set them free. But unless there is a petition even those who deserve pardon are kept until death. Besides the pardoning is in Edo only and thus prisoners under the *daimyō* and *hatamoto* get nothing of

* "After my petition Ōmi-no-Kami persuaded the Shōgun to build the new palace, since the funds were so unexpectedly large! It cost more than 700,000 *ryō* and the mortuary chapel cost 200,000 *ryō*. Officials great and small thought only of their own profit and merchants and artizans were of the same mind. The evils of the late reign were not thoroughly reformed and now they begin again."

the benefit. It is not a great forgiveness, but a petty following of ancient precedents. It is no longer as of old a blessing to the people through pity.

The officials of the late Shōgun were intolerably severe; for a bird or beast's sake a man was put to death, all the family suffered with the criminal and no one could be in peace. Even when not imprisoned parents and children were made beggars. Truly the people suffered! How many thousands and tens of thousands thus suffered I do not know. Relief can now be found only by a great pardoning throughout the Empire. *

Precedents show however that such release of prisoners, in China and Japan, has been at times of revolution or of public rejoicing, not as now at the death of a ruler. Do we not teach criminals to desire the Shōgun's death? The proverb says, "One blessing cannot conquer ten thousand curses."

But all should not be changed at once. On the 49th pardon according to the usual custom and later, when you are invested, make a general pardoning for the whole Empire. As I Wu said, "In general pardoning is some reason and great evil;" and Chu-ko Liang said, "Let the government exhibit great virture and not bestow small favors;" and Sun Yueh said, "Pardoning is for extraordinary times: it is not the rule." When the Empire is in confusion because the government does wrong and not

* Criminals would be convicted only after confession. Torture was used to elicit confessions, but many were kept in prison a life-time unconvicted, their cases not being decided. The pardoning power was intended to right such wrongs. The taking to temples and freeing there contains a hint of the Buddhist merit-making by buying caged birds and setting them free in temple grounds.

because the people commit crimes, then we must pardon.

My paper was discussed and further particulars were asked. On the 17th my daughter's illness, it was small pox, kept me at home. On the 20th the mother of the late Shōgun died and a messenger brought the news. On 30th the decision as to the pardons was reached.

The Shōgun examined the records of imprisonments during the late reign, being buried from night until morning with the reading, and released 956 persons. On the death of the mother of his predecessor he pardoned 92 others, and the *daimyō* and *hatamoto* released, throughout the Empire, 3737. When he was invested, 8th June 1709, he pardoned 2901, and the *daimyō* and *hatamoto* 1862 more. No such pardoning had been known since the establishment of the Tokugawa regime. *

The *daimyō* did not agree at first as they thought there was no precedent, so I was commanded to write out the reasons for my proposal. And from this time the Shōgun examined the records of the courts himself and then passed them on to me, when I wrote my opinion and sent it to him and, finally, he made the decision. This showed a care for the people that was unparalleled.

At my request the Shōgun forbade gambling, the extortions of the firemen, street walking and private prostitution. The sons of the members of the Loyal League were pardoned at this time: actors were forbidden to wear

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* "This year measles and small pox were epidemic and so many died that the fish flew over only a house or so in a distance of three squares. My second daughter and one of my sons were so ill that the doctor could do no more, but they got well, 'by the help of Heaven' the doc'or said. Perhaps he was right. The Book of Changes says,—'Thunder, rain, then clear weather.' So came a blessing to the people."

swords and to associate with other folks : the wearing of silk crape, the visiting of temples in a series by women, and the cutting of the hair of beggars, were also prohibited.*

On the 1st of April the decision as to the intimate officials of the late Shōgun was announced: all *hatamoto* of more than 10,000 *koku* were promoted one grade and the ranks were established. The women of the late Shōgun were sent to their homes. †

On the 11th of May the new regime was formally instituted, and on the 13th 730 sons of *hatamoto* were summoned to the Shōgun's presence and presented their congratulations through Zembō Asson.

On the 28th of April I had asked that my son might be presented and the Shōgun not only consented but proposed to give him an office usually bestowed only on the sons of very high officials. But I did not wish precedents violated in my favor and so declined this very great and especial honor, and my son was given the same office with the sons of other officials of my rank.

On the 6th of June I was invited to attend the investiture with the officials nearest my lord and was loaned then proper robes. At the ceremony, the 8th of June, I stood nearest the Shōgun. I was also present at the ceremonies of the 10th and the 11th, when the ambassador of the Emperor from Kyōto was received and dismissed. And at the further ceremonials observed throughout my lord's

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* The Loyal League avenged the death of their lord by killing his foe, and were commanded to commit hara-kiri and their sons were punished. The story is well told by Mitford in "Tales of Old Japan." The visiting of the temples by women led to immorality.

† "He was fond of women and called in any one who took his fancy, afterwards keeping her in charge of Kippo and Terusada."

life I was given a most distinguished position near his person. This honor was bestowed because of my minute knowledge of the ceremonies.

On the 29th of July I sent in another memorial calling attention to the condition of the Shōgun's arms and standards, which had been so neglected during the many years of peace that they were useless. The Shōgun privately told his officials to make the needed repairs and have all in readiness for the festivals of the next two years; and he did not inspect his armoury that year lest shame should be cast on the memory of his predecessor.

On the 9th of August the Shōgun's son was born and called, temporarily, Serada instead of Tokugawa, according to custom.* And in connection with this birth I told the Shōgun there were ten things I questioned in the ordinary account of his family line. The documents sustained me and the Shōgun was much impressed with my accurate information. I had stumbled upon certain old books and letters that gave much information while looking up my own family line.

On the 25th of July I was consulted about the promotion of Her Grace to the third rank, and the following day the honor was bestowed on her.†

On the 5th August I was summoned to the castle but was too ill to go until the 13th. That day I was greatly honoured and was made a *hatamoto* with 500 ***koku*** of

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* "The year was an unlucky one, and children born in such a year were temporarily disowned, taking some other family name, that fate might be cheated."

† The Shōgun varied in rank, and each rank from 9 to 1 had two grades. Only three in all history had the higher grade of 1. Yoritomo was only Shō-shi-i.

land in the villages Nara and Koshibata in Hiki township, and Nohira in Saitama township, province of Musashi. Later in connection with the Korean affair I was given 500 *koku* of land more and my title was Chikugo no Kami. Finally I was made a *samurai* of high rank.

I have written elsewhere of my interviews with the Roman.*

My lord gave me permission to enter the castle at any time, day or night, by any of the eight gates, and this in spite of the protest of his council that such permission was unprecedented, the Shōgun replying,—"He is not like the other officials."

I was present at all the ceremonies, the Shōgun made me his representative at the coronation of the Emperor and entrusted the reception of the Korean embassy to me. He took me with him on his excursions and at the feasts given to the father of Her Grace. I was given the honor of drafting memorials and writing explanations on the laws, to the chagrin of Hayashi, Minister of Education, since these duties belonged to his family and office. But he was incompetent.

Murakami Ichi no Kami Masanoa brought a stick from Kyoto a foot in circumference which disclosed in its centre the characters, *ten-ka* (empire). I told him it was part of a persimmon tree and he asked how I knew that, adding that it had been found among the firewood in a temple, and had been sent to him when the words were discovered. So I told him that old books narrate how words written on the bark of persimmon trees when young, grow black and gradually sink into the wood. There is nothing wonderful in it. And another man

* For his interview with the Abbe Sidotti see trans.

brought a paper with *tenka taihei* (great peace to the Empire) written on it, and thought it the work of a spirit in China! But I told him that the paper was Japanese though the writing was like that of a spirit. "What!" he exclaimed, "have you seen a spirit's writing?" But I told him, "No, it is merely that the writing on this paper resembles a man's writing much as a horse formed by the clouds resembles a man's drawing of the animal. There are references, in ancient books, to writings by gods and demons, but such beings can do nothing in these times of peace. This writing is nothing." When my reply was repeated to the Shōgun he remarked, "His discernment is wonderful! The words were written by a child who had been bewitched by a fox." Afterwards when more wonders were found growing on a stone in the garden nothing was said to me about it.

My lord had been fond of the "*nō*" and had taken part in it, but I opposed it and told him that the emperor of China who was fond of such exhibitions destroyed the Empire. When commanded to explain in what respect the "*nō*" resembled those improper Chinese dances, I wrote out my reasons and sent to my lord fifty six volumes concerning the dances in China. Some argued that as Ieyasu and other Shōgun took part in these plays so might our lord; but I told them that Confucius said, "Put in history that only which is worthy of record," and that the Tokugawa shame should not be written in its history. Hideyoshi made Ieyasu dance that he might be humiliated and Iemitsu only danced before Ieyasu his grandfather. After my lord became Shōgun he occasionally saw the "*nō*" but he never invited me.

For the former Shōgun, Hayashi had written an ac-

count of the immediate ancestors of Ieyasu and it was loaned to my lord, and one day Zembō Asson read aloud its account of the murder of the father of Ieyasu, and of the killing of the assassin by the by-standers as he fled. And the Shōgun said to me, "It says Ieyasu's father was wounded in his leg? If that was all and he let his assailant escape what will people think of him? Hayashi supposes that the immediate murder was shameful and so substitutes this wounding. There is nothing of this wounding in the leg in your account. Hayashi does not understand the true *samurai* spirit." So my lord bade me write this history, but alas! before it was ready he had died. *

CHAPTER III.

SOME JUDICIAL DECISIONS AND THE EMBASSY TO KYŌTO.

On the 22nd of the 6th month, Zembō Asson told me the following :—

During the late reign there was a quarrel between two temples in Nara. The decision was reached, but before the seals were affixed the Shōgun died, and now two priests have come and stated their case anew, saying that the father of her Grace knows all about it. Tokyu-in Saki

* "Hayashi asked to resign when my lord succeeded, but I asked him to consider what a disgrace it would be to Hayashi should he accept the resignation. It is true he was Kippo's creature, and wrote the petition which got Kai for him and so his own promotion, and assisted in Kippo's schemes. A man with such a heart should not be entrusted with the guidance and instruction of others. The Shōgun fully agreed, and Hayashi's resignation was not accepted."

no Kampuku, Saki-hisa had two sons, the elder became chief priest of the Sonke, Dai-sho-In of Ichi-jo-In, and the younger the general Nobutada. Ieyasu was a great friend of the father and going from Fushimi to Kyōto slept at his house and had much talk with him. Once when the elder lad was eleven Ieyasu said to him, "I have been here often and have given you nothing. What will you have?" And the boy replied, "Authority and means to restore our parish temple." Remarkable! said Ieyasu. The boy became a student in the temple, rose to be its head and restored it. When Ieyasu became Shōgun he did not forget his promise but gave much land to the temple "for the advancement of learning." But as he added no requirements as to the ability of the incumbent the position became merely hereditary. When the son of the Emperor Gomidzu-no became head of this temple it was still farther enriched.

During the late reign the chief priest was installed during a convocation on the sixth day, and the priests of the other temple, the Dai-jo-In, thought their chance to get the privilege of preaching before the Shōgun, with authority over the order, had come, as their chief was brother of the wife of the then Shōgun. So after much consultation the land given for the advancement of learning was taken from the first temple and given them, but before the seals were affixed the Shōgun died. Now these two priests have come asking that the grant made by Ieyasu and left intact for generations be undisturbed. The whole was in the writing of the *bugyō* and the Shōgun sent it on to me with orders for my opinion. His own was annexed. I took all home with me and the next day reported as follows:—

I have not yet gone fully into the case but I cannot believe this story. When Ieyasu was in Fushimi and went thence to Kyoto after making peace in Ōsaka, this eldest son, so the records show, was already twentyfive or twenty six years old, and when he was eleven there was war between Takeda of Kai and Hideyoshi, and Ieyasu had no leisure or opportunity for such a journey. The story is false and therefore I cannot agree with your judgment. The *bugyō* of the late Shōgun had ample reasons for their decision. If now we reverse it the quarrel will not end at all, but will break out between Hieisan and Midera. Shokoku claims that the decision was made because of the relatives of the wife of the late Shōgun, but if we reverse it we shall never escape the imputation of having acted for the sake of the relatives of your wife. If you will leave it to me I shall do my best. I do not return the papers but at your command will write another decision.

The Shōgun sent for me, assented and told me to follow my own judgment. I finally sent in two volumes of manuscript on the affair and the officials of both temples were called and examined. The representatives of the Ichi-jō-In could not answer me, and the Shōgun asked if I could not suggest a peaceful solution. But these men pleaded illness and so obtained leave to go home, and on the 25th of the ninth month the Shōgun gave his decision and both parties retired. All is written in full elsewhere and I give only an abstract here. *

* The representatives died of chagrin. It was proved that seals and documents had been forged. Even the defeated party acquiesced in the final decision. The head of the defeated party was a relative of the wife of the Shōgun.

Another case was still undecided when my lord became Shōgun. It concerned the rights of the people of Yase on the Eisan domain, and as the poor folk were greatly inconvenienced by their long stay in Edo he bade me decide it. The villagers had long been in the habit of cutting wood and grass on this land in spite of an ancient prohibition, but recently the prohibition had been strictly enforced and the people could not gain a livelihood. I sent the Shōgun my opinion, but he decided that the previous decision could not be reversed though there was much to be said for the villagers. So he proposed that an equivalent should be given them in land elsewhere. This was done. I wrote the decision in Chinese and my lord put it into the mixed style himself, a great condescension.

In the winter I was in Kyōto I climbed Eisan and returning passed through this village. While my attendants made my lunch ready I went to a house by the wayside and talked with the old woman in charge. "My son is in Kyoto" she said and in reply to my questions:—"The prohibition took away our livelihood but, now, through the great blessing bestowed upon us we feel as if we might live. We do not understand farming but we shall learn."

The Shōgun asked me to prepare the programme for the ceremonies when he should visit the Confucian temple; and again, I wrote an account of the ceremonies to be observed in the worship of the national gods according to the *Shinto* rites.

On the 27th of September I was appointed messenger to Kyōto and given 100 gold *ryō* for my expenses. I was told to start after meeting the Loo Choo ambassador in October, and was privately told to return in December.

On the 31st of October I was formally appointed representative of the Shōgun at the coronation in Kyōto, and was given five gold pieces, and then, being called before the Shōgun was given two sets of robes and one suit of outer garments. The same day I was given orders for men and horses for my journey. On the 7th of November five pieces of rare and costly silk were given me and on the 13th the Shōgun sent for me, as I was to start on the morrow, and with his own hands gave me a medicine case and a wallet.

I had purposed going after the arrival of the ambassador from Loo Choo, but he was detained by contrary winds and was at Ōtsu when I entered Kyōto on the 20th.

I saw the coronation on the 12th of December and soon after was told to delay my return until after the enthronement, one hundred gold *ryō* additional being given for my expenses. So I wisited Ōsaka, Nara and Uji, and returned to Kyōto on the 6th of January.

The enthronement was on New Year's day, (30th January 1710) and I was favored with a near view of His Majesty's face.

Hearing that the Loo Choo embassy was at Fushimi, on its return I went to the Satsuma mansion there, as I had been asked, and met the two sons of the king of Loo Choo.

I left Kyōto on the 19th of February and was back in Edo on March 2nd. On the 14th I was summoned to the castle and was commended by the Shōgun in person.

CHAPTER IV.

THE KOREAN EMBASSY.

After I had been made a *samurai* of rank in July of this year I was bidden to arrange for the reception, entertainment and farewell of the Korean embassy ; and on the 18th of September was told to meet the Koreans at Kawasaki and one hundred gold *ryō* were given for my expenses. Fourteen gold *ryō* more with orders for men and horses were added afterwards.

At this time I was made a *hatamoto* with the title Chikugo-no-Kami and my robes and all things necessary were given me at once, having been prepared at the special command of the Shōgun.

On December seventh I went to Kawasaki at the horse hour (12 m.) and met the ambassador at evening. The next morning we started at daybreak and came to our hotel in Asakusa in the middle of the sheep hour (3 p.m.). I gave the necessary instructions to the people and informed the Shōgun of my return. On the next day was the ceremony attending my assumption of my new rank.

On December 20th was the Koreans' audience, on the 23rd was their feast, on the 24th they gave an exhibition of horsemanship, on the 31st was the farewell and on Jan. 8th they took their departure.

I have written a full account of all this elsewhere but as it made much talk I set down an outline here.

Our relations with Korea had not been satisfactory for an hundred years. When Ieyasu came into power he sent an embassy to Korea but as the Koreans and Chinese hated us because of Hideyoshi's invasion, they sent an embassy in return only after a year. When it arrived

Iyeyasu was engaged in war and there was no time to arrange the proper ceremonies. * But a precedent was created that was followed for generations instead of the ancient usage, and this to the great injury of our honor. As Confucius teaches that ceremonies are formed in the course of an hundred years, the Shōgun † decided that this usage must be carefully considered and reformed. He consulted with Hayashi, the Minister of Education, but as his response was not satisfactory, at first privately and then publicly the whole affair was entrusted to me.

The question of title was the most serious of all. From the Kamakura times the Koreans had called the Emperor, Son of Heaven, and the Shōgun, King. ‡ In Hidetada's time however they had come to call the Shōgun *Nippon-koku Taikun*, (Great lord of Japan) a title objectionable on two grounds, first, because *taikun* is applied to officials in Korea and second, because it has been applied to the Emperor in both China and Japan. Contentions arose about this and it was decided to return to the title king, and Tsushima-no-Kami who conducted the negotiations with the Koreans was commanded to inform that government. This he neglected to do.

It was also decided to stop the Korean custom of sending presents and letters to our officials, as the practice was not according to our ways nor was it desired by them or us.

In March a letter came from the Korean officials setting forth their ideas but we did not follow it. We changed the

* Ieyasu was not yet sufficiently secure in his position and so would not meet them.

† It was now a hundred years after Ieyasu.

‡ Nippon Tennō and Nippon Koku-ō.

following particulars;—We substituted a meal of four courses for the great feasts of fifteen courses morning and night, and of thirteen at noon, which had been given them in the past. They had been entertained more elaborately than the Emperor himself and it was a heavy tax upon the *daimyō* whose possessions touched the route of the Koreans and who were obliged to furnish the feasts. Our proposal was to give our guests the same treatment accorded our ambassador in Korea. We added money for their other expenses. This change occasioned no debate, as the feasts were very tedious to the Koreans, and they preferred the money.

We next insisted that they should cease to ride into their inns in their palanquin and should come forth from their apartments and descend to the courtyard to meet the messengers of the Shōgun and bid farewell to them. This followed ancient precedent and the conduct of our ambassador in Korea. They refused compliance and the feasts appointed for Ōsaka could not be given. The Koreans urged recent precedents and the discussion was very great. They left their palanquin and entered their inns on foot, but they wholly refused to meet the representative of the Shōgun on the lower floor. They would not discuss the matter but merely said, "We were told to follow precedent," so Tsushima-no-Kami's people determined to hold the Korean men at arms and to carry the ambassador below by force. Then the Koreans complied with our demand.

Members of the Council of State, in the past, had met the ambassador at his successive lodgings with salutations from the Shōgun, but we sent lower officials instead of the rank of those whom the King of Korea would send to

greet the Japanese ambassador. The Koreans accepted this change.

In their reception at Edo the following changes were made;—Instead of the secretary, the ambassador himself must present his credentials to the Shōgun at the first audience. The ambassador cannot be treated, as here to fore, as of equal rank with our *Sanke* (the three Tokugawa houses which might furnish an heir to the Shōgun on the failure of the direct line); nor shall representatives of the *Sanke* wait upon the ambassador at the feast. That is not done for our Emperor, nor does it accord with ancient precedent nor with the treatment of our ambassador in Korea. This last occasioned a discussion that had not terminated when the hour for the feast came. The Shōgun arrived but the Korean did not come. The officials would have yielded rather than keep the Shogun waiting, but I would not yield and finally the ambassador gave way, and the feast proceeded as the Shōgun had directed.

The ambassador objected to my use of a certain ideograph in our formal reply to their communication, because the ideograph occurred in the name of the seventh ancestor of their king. They insisted that the word be mutilated. I refused. I told them the custom applied only in the relations of son and father, and of vassal and lord, and not at all to international intercourse. Besides, the rule applies only to the fifth generation, and when by mutual agreement the rule is followed in international relations it never applies beyond the fifth generation. Why should they forget, too, the precept that bids men never to do to others what they do not desire for themselves, since in their letter to the Shōgun they had used an ideograph which was part of the Shōgun's father's name. They

became rude in their replies and I refused to continue the discussion. But they would not give up, and went to Tsushima-no-Kami and asked him to mutilate the word privately, as otherwise they could not survive their return and war might result. So I was again asked to agree, but I replied that all the other matters were trifles compared with this and that I would die first. So next they went to the Shōgun and he decided that the ideograph should be mutilated, on condition that the character in the Korean letter should be treated likewise. So it was settled. In all this our countrymen opposed me more than the Koreans themselves. *

The officials did not consider the Shōgun's commands but only my affairs. And for such cause men of old forsook the world and superior men did not delay. So, without waiting a day, as soon as the Koreans departed,

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* "At Edo the Koreans were astonished at the great state of the Shōgun and arrayed themselves in their great robes of state for the audience."

As to the ideograph, the Koreans would not return to Korea with it unchanged and Hakuseki would kill himself were it changed; and so it was that the Shōgun interfered. Tsushima-no-Kami tried to bribe Hakuseki, being himself in Korean pay, but Hakuseki cared nothing for private gain but purposed suicide should be fail. And so it was the Shōgun trusted him.

(The idea in mutilating the ideograph was this. Confucius says, Thou shalt not lightly use thy ruler's name, and so the names of rulers were never written in full but were mutilated, written and pronounced in part. Nor might the ideographs composing them be used in other words. Cf. the Jewish usage in the writing of God's Name, and the taboo of Pacific Islanders.)

The Korean ambassador was put to death on his return home and none other came afterwards.

(It is said that Hakuseki purposed to kill the ambsssador as well as himself.)

I sent in my resignation to the Shōgun through Zembō Asson.

Zembō took it without a word but soon summoned me in haste at the command of the Shōgun. I did not know why I was called but went at once and the Shōgun, with Zembō Asson as intermediary, said;—"I am astonished at your action. No doubt it is caused by the talk that goes on. Others have criticized your course from the beginning and I know the source of their remarks. International intercourse either benefits or injures both countries and is of great importance. As your ideas pleased me I entrusted all to you and you had your own way in spite of the protests of the ambassador. At the last this matter of the writing unexpectedly came up, but even then I told Zembō Asson that I had left all to you and that you would make no mistake. I did not wish to lose all we had gained because of this one point. As the Buddhists say, 'One form, two bodies,' and this applies to you and me. And I added to Zembō, Chikugo no Kami's errors are mine and mine are his, see that you do not blame him but act with him in all things, and it will be as I wish. I have nothing more to say. I am sorry this has occurred, but if he resign now folks will think all has been wrong and everything will be undone. It touches not him only but me also. So include me in whatever you think of him and lead him to give up his purpose."

I wept as he spoke of "one form and two bodies' and accepted his decision without a word.

On the 9th of January (1710) I was again summoned to the castle, and going on the 10th Zembō Asson told me that the Shōgun bade me listen, and not decline his gift.

Then Kaga no Kami Tadamasa told me that my domains were increased and Zembō Asson said;—This is only a trifle, a remembrancer, for the Shōgun knows you would not accept gifts that should accord with your merits." His wisdom was great. I had done nothing but I yielded to his desire and accepted his gift.

We should examine all we see or hear, that we may know its history and reason. Such investigations were called "science" by the ancients, and I have found great advantage in following this rule even in seeming trifles. For example, when a child I read an account of house construction which excited my curiosity, and I pursued the studies especially in regard to the ancient forms of gateways, and this enabled me to speak with authority when the new gate into the castle was built just before the coming of the embassy. So too, our letters in reply to Korean communications of late had been sent in silver boxes with gold rings and red silk cords, but when the Shōgun asked if we should use such an one this time I recalled an ancient box of quite another pattern which I had seen in Kyōto and we imitated that. Again Tsushima no Kami had the entrances to the inns in Ōsaka and Kyōto hung with curtains and arranged seats in a certain way, but in Edo we had all specially made for the occasion and the Emperor's representative from Kyōto highly praised them. And once more, when ordered to meet the ambassador at Kawasaki I gave careful thought to my dress and remembered the details of similar occasions in ancient times. So I decided that ordinary robes would not do and obtained an appropriate costume from the Shōgun. My hat had a colored rim, my robe was purple, its skirt was drawn together, and

my sword had silver ornaments. I put shoes in my palanquin, and when the ambassador met me at the gate of the inn I put them on and left my palanquin. But only men who understand our national institutions and the ceremonies of the Shōgun's court can discuss these things.

I add several items to this account of the Korean embassy;—When I went to Kyōto early in the year as I passed through Ōgaki, in Mino, there were notices affixed to the houses along the way, saying that an inch from one housefront, a foot from another and six feet from a third and so on, be taken off. Asking the reason I was told that Tsushima no Kami had commanded it so that the street might permit the passage of the broad banners of the Koreans. Asking further if this was their first passage along this route I was told they always came this way. So when in Kyōto I wrote the Shōgun asking that the thing be stopped and he so ordered. It was simply a plan for extorting money.

Now it had always been the custom for the *daimyō* to furnish horses and men for the use of the embassy on route, the eastern *daimyō* providing for the western section of the journey, and the western *daimyō* for the eastern, and each *daimyō* for just one day's travel. But this time the western *daimyō* arranged for the west and the eastern for the east, and each *daimyō* for two days, thus reducing the number of *daimyō* called upon and the number of horses and men required by more than half. *Daimyō* who were too distant or two poor were excused altogether.* When the Shōgun told me to

* It was part of the Tokugawa policy to weaken the *daimyō* by exactions, and so this duty had been arranged so as to require the greatest expense and the least real service.

arrange this service he was surprised when I had the plans all ready the next morning.

At the feast in Suruga the principal members of the embassy were, heretofore, waited upon by nobles, but I objected as this gave double duty to these lords who already were burdened by the feasts and relays of horses and men furnished. Besides, on my journey to Kyoto I had noticed the particularly fine appearance of the people of this province, caused by the long residence there of Ieyasu. So I proposed that this duty be entrusted to the sons of merchants, who also would perform it better than rural samurai. It was so arranged.

CHAPTER V.

THE BURDENS OF THE PEOPLE.

The 29th of July (1710) was an extraordinary event,—four thousand one hundred and sixteen men from eighty five villages on the fief of Murakami, Echigo-no-Kami, presented charges of misgovernment. The magistrate decided to punish severely the petitioners, but the Shōgun bade me look into the case. The magistrate's statement was as follows:—"When, last year, Matsudaira, Ukyō-no-Taiyu Terasada, received this fief certain of the farmers asked

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In all of these negotiations with the Koreans it was Hakuseki's purpose to force a recognition of the Shōgun as the full equal of the Korean king, and to refuse to allow the Shōgun to be treated as the Minister or lieutenant of the Mikado. His contention as to the mutilation of the ideograph in the dispatch puts that in the clearest light, especially his reference to the use of the character which occurred in the name of the Shōgun's father in the Korean dispatch.

to be taken under the immediate government of the Shōgun. When the request was refused they went home but the people of their villages refused to pay taxes and to obey the local officials. So more than fifty of the leading men were brought to Edo and here repeated the same request. Though repeatedly told that it cannot be granted they refuse to listen to us. Now shall we inquire further or shall we punish these men at once, and send officers to command all the rest to submit to their *daimyō* under the penalties of death, banishment and confiscation of their estates?" This was the statement that was sent to me and with it letters written by the deputy of that province.

On examination, however, I found that the deputy had only rumors without proof for the charges he made, viz. that all the people had bound themselves with oaths that if the fifty-eight men in Edo were put to death one hundred men more should go to Edo with a like petition, and if these should suffer then all the people would follow them; that these folks look upon officials as enemies and have sold and sent off in boats the grain and grass which they should pay as taxes; that they are deaf to the remonstrances of the local officials, with many other things of the same sort. (It was said that the people purposed insurrection, with their priest as leader, but this charge was not in the documents.)

I sent in my opinion the next day, and this is its outline:—"I have examined the papers. As these people cannot appeal to their *daimyō* they must appeal to the Shōgun. They have committed the slight offence of not obeying the deputy; but on mere rumour, the magistrate adds the serious charge of rebellion and proposes the most grievous punishment, a course surely not befitting the

'parents of the people.' Did they purpose rebellion they would not sell their grain but would buy more, and did they purpose rebellion without preparation it were a small matter. But these farmers who desire to become the immediate tenants of the Shōgun do not purpose rebellion, but seek redress for evils that are unendurable. I will be the surety that their intentions are not evil. The matter has been left to officials who hate the people and are hated by them, and so the truth is not discovered. Fortunately this paper suggests further investigation. Let it be made by men good natured and merciful."

So the men proposed by the magistrate were passed by, and three other men were told to make an examination.

It proved that the petition was not caused by Echigo-no-Kami Murakami at all. Sixty years before Matsudaira Yamato-no-Kami received the Murakami castle and forty thousand *koku* of land in Mishima and Kambara townships.

The year before last Honda Nakatsukasa Taiyu Tadanaga got the castle and twenty thousand *koku* of the land, the other half becoming part of the Shōgun's estate. * But a part of Honda's domain was from fifty to seventy miles from his castle, and there were two big rivers and the Shinano river between. The large embankments were constantly out of repair and were very costly to mend. Besides, in the original fief were ten establishments of officials, and eight were left on the moiety which remained with Honda. So the farmers petitioned to become tenants of the Shōgun instead of the farmers who lived near the castle.

* The former Shōgun changed about the weaker *daimyō* at his pleasure taking valuable lands for his own and giving others of *nominally* the same in exchange. Naturally the *daimyō* made up their losses by increasing taxation.

But the deputy would not consent. So three men were chosen by the farmers to lay the matter before the magistrate but nothing came of it. Next they thrust a petition into Kawachi-no-Kami Masamine's, palanquin as he passed along the highway. The magistrate resented that and imprisoned the men. Shortly after, Murakami became *daimyō* and the magistrate released the men and told them :—"With a new *daimyō* there is no reason for your petition. Go home at once." So they went home joyfully, supposing they had gained their cause, and all the farmers rejoiced. But there was no change made. As they did not understand this, the three representatives again appeared, but were put in prison with their fathers, brothers and sons: and there two of the party died. No judgment was given, and as the farmers did not know where to pay their taxes they did not pay them at all. The situation became unendurable. In March of this year (1710) the magistrate sent for fifty-eight of the leading farmers. Now the commissioners decide that the farmers are in the right, but fear to decide in their favor lest an unfortunate precedent be created, and the authority of the magistrate be destroyed. So they command obedience at all costs.

But the men declared that the families would be beggared and scattered by the local officials if no change were made. "Let twenty or thirty of us go home and consult with the people" they went on, "and then we will reply." Most of the officials wished to refuse consent and the Shōgun again asked my opinion. I replied, "The proverb about setting a tiger free upon a plain has its application, but not in this case. No trouble will arise from this visit and if it is not made, how shall the villagers

know of your sympathy? Moreover, the complaints against the local officials must have attention." So thirty two of the men went home, and in the middle of September came again with the local officials, who were to be examined by the three commisioners. In October came another report from the local deputy, saying that the farmers had constantly met for debate, since the return of the thirty two men and that their grain had been garnered. Immediately twelve men came from the farmers to the Shōgun to thank him for his kindness. There was a further examination of both sides, and the officials had no defence. For example, during the previous year, in a space of eighty days they had taken nine hundred and fifty *ryō* from the farmers for the expenses of two deputies. It was without excuse and this was only one thing out of many. And the reports about selling grain were false.

The Shōgun's decision was given on the 22nd of December. It left the land with Murakami, forbade such practices by the local officials and redressed the farmer's grievances. On the 13th of February the farmers paid their taxes for the two previous years.

At the end of the year a conflagration started near Shinobazu pond. A strong wind from the north west was blowing, and more than ten thousand houses were burned. There have been many such great conflagrations, and in some of the wards the houses have been burned tens of times. Men cannot live in peace, prices rise and the evil spreads far. I, with some of the officials, was asked how such fires should be prevented. I named fifteen causes for them, four of Heaven's decree, two of the forces of the earth, four of men, and five of the want of efficient means for extinguishing them when started. The causes

set forth by the firemen and magistrates were not sufficient to account completely for the fires. All recommended the enlargement of the wall in Shirokanechō and this was done. I differed from the others even as to the plans for this, but the Shōgun died before my recommendation could be adopted.

The next year I was sent to meet the Hollanders to inquire as to the lands to the south and west; and I was with the men fourteen days. I have written a full account of it elsewhere.

In another paper I called attenion to the heavy burdens laid upon the people, during the late Shōgun's rule, because of the increase in the value of the gifts to the Shōguns and his officials, from the *daimyō* and *hatamoto*. The people greatly suffer as the result. Let us return to the standard established by Ieyasu. After his war the taxes were lightened, as war taxes cannot be paid in times of peace. But they have been increased again, beyond the times of war. That is monstrous. Both in foreign lands and here in Japan, rebellions have always arisen because of too heavy taxation, while in good times the people are aided, instructed, enriched and made virtuous, as the Classics teach. If this matter is neglected none other plan can be carried out. The most imperative duty now is the lessening of the burdens of the people. Reduce the retinues the *daimyō* are obliged to keep, the number of guards at the castle gate, and, in short, let a third or a half be taken off every requirement. Cut down the number of places where guards are placed by fifteen. If the number and value of the gifts for high officials be decreased, there will be far less bribery and flattery.

My plan was adopted in part, and I was told to deter-

mine the number of guards really needed. The retinues of the *daimyō* were reduced, but the officials prevented the lessening of the gifts, urging the honor to the givers and their reverence for the Government. But were these the real reasons?

This year new rules for the great highways were made. They were made because of a report I sent in after my trip to Kyoto, together with the need for repairs in preparation for the coming of the Korean embassy. The officials urged the following points:—

Many causes combine for the impoverishment of the posting towns on the highways, but the chief cause is found in the large retinues with which the *daimyō* and *kuge* travel, so large that the regular supplies of men and horses do not suffice, and so demands for additional men and beasts are constantly made on the neighboring villages. Then too, with the new rules about the crossing at Arai, travellers of all degrees prefer the Nakasendō and it is so thronged that its supplies are too small while the Tokaidō loses its usual patronage. So we propose that either the *daimyō* be required to furnish more men and beasts for the Nakasendō, so that the villages be less burdened, or be forbidden to travel in such numbers by the Nakasendō, so that the posting towns on both routes may be benefited. And send officials often to inspect the roads, and report as to their true condition, and make these men subordinate to the magistrates. *

* The *daimyō* were forced to spend half their time in Edo and went up from their provinces with retinues befitting their rank. So they kept horses and men at the posting stations to provide for these journeys and men travelling on official business received, as Hakuseki p. 68 supra,

The Shōgun asked my opinion and I wrote at length as follows;—I have been over the highways recently as your representative, and I know their condition. It is not true that the large retinues of the nobles burden the posts, but they do burden the neighboring farmers. By the late Shōgun, inspectors of posts were appointed and in the Shōgun's domains the assistants of the deputies perform this duty. When one of the Shōguu's representatives passes over the road, these officials conspire with the keepers of the posting stations, and the number o men and horses needed is doubled, and the whole number is demanded from the farmers, while the horses belonging to the station are let to ordinary travellers for gain. And when the farmers fail to bring in horses enough, the officials fly into a passion and extort money as fines. So they rejoice when retinues are large and grieve when they are small. The neighbors are imprisoned for not furnishing the horses needed, and become so poor that year by year some move away from the vicinity to escape such impositions, and thus the burdens of those who remain are still further increased. Such crowds of horses and men meet officials that their servants ride and their coolies pass over their burdens to these men from the posts. The first reform of all should be the removal of the inspectors.

Next, folks travel by the Nakasendō not so much because of the Arai crossing, (I had no trouble there although advised to take the other road to save expense) as

orders for the number needed. The abuses complained of by the author continued down to the restoration of the Emperor in 1867. Naturally the number of men and beasts provided on the Nakasendō, as the less travelled road, was smaller than on the Tōkaidō.

that the posting charges on the Tōkaidō, were increased at the requests of the posting station keepers in the late reign. If the charges are put back to the old figures travel will increase again. It will not do to forbid travel on the Nakasendō.

Single imposts collected only once, like that for the building of Tōdaiji in Nara, or the removal of the ashes from the base of Fuji, occasion great discontent. How much greater will the discontent be, if these requisitions for men and horses are permanently increased.

The rule is that one hundred men, and one hundred horses, be kept at each station on the Tōkaidō, and half the number at each station on the Nakasendō. Let officials remember this, in their preparations and let them have none beyond the legal number. This will lessen the exactions on the farmers.

However, if the required number is not maintained, it is a real danger in time of war; but if so many cannot be kept let only the actual force be paid for. Some seven points in all were insisted on in my letter, and this year the inspectors were dismissed and other reforms effected. However, at the request of the magistrates, constables were sent to the posts in place of the inspectors. Their reports showed the number of men and beasts at fifty three posts to be 107,551 and 36,411 respectively, a reduction from the former numbers of 122,589 men and 2823 horses.

Companies of men waited at Ōsaka and Edo, seeking employment in the trains of *daimyō* coming from a distance. These fellows were unruly and the magistrates could not control them. They would demand palanquin, horses and coolies for themselves and after riding a short

distance would send away the men and horses, for a consideration, and they would vent their wrath unchecked on all posting men who resisted their demands. The remedy was plain, put the men under employers in Ōsaka and Edo and hold the employers to a strict account for the conduct of their men.

In the end, alas, the magistrates had their own way, for while the reforms were in preparation the Shōgun died, and after that the inspectors were reappointed and the old abuses began again. It was like a child's house, by the wayside, quickly destroyed by his playmates.

In the spring I was ill and the Shōgun sent five times to inquire, and once, on the return of the messenger, he said, "The doctor says Chikugo no Kami is very ill and that his constitution is affected. Ten thousand applications of the moxa have been made without curing him. He wishes to get out at once but his eagerness interferes with his recovery. He bears the burdens of the Empire both the foreign and home affairs, but his constitution cannot be injured or he could not stand so many applications of the moxa."

When well enough to go out I sent my thanks to the Shōgun through Zembō Asson. I also told him what I had heard while ill;—"Folks talk of the many dancing girls employed by the Shōgun. Yet His Grace gave up employing them when he became Shōgun, and these rumours doubtless arose from the feasts Her Grace gave in honor of her father's visit. I do not believe the gossip but it is my duty to speak."

When I next visited the castle Zembō Asson told me that the Shōgun had said;—"The dancing girls were employed when my wife visited the mother of the late

Shōgun, and again when the visit was returned, and once more when Her Grace's father visited her. I saw no harm in these courtesies, but since I had forbidden the employment of these women in the castle doubtless it was a mistake to permit these exceptions. I have renewed the prohibition strictly, and you may tell Chikugo no Kami."

A little later in the year I was given a new residence nearer Hitotsu-bashi, in exchange for my former one. The Shōgun also sent me one hundred gold *ryō*, by Zembō Asson, saying he had heard the place was badly out of repair. The new place was larger than the old one, and was said to contain eight hundred *tsubo* but it really had only six hundred. But the Shōgun promised an adjoining piece of ground in addition as soon as the lease should expire, and after his death I got it and have it now.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TREASURY AGAIN.

I wrote a paper on the management of the Treasury and sent it to the Shōgun. I showed the connection between our system and that of the ancients, and went on to urge the appointment of censors, since finances affect the welfare of the people of more than sixty provinces and should not be left to the discretion of one man. The censors should have oversight of the deputies and of the taxes paid in the domains of the Shōgun: they should take charge of the transportation of the

rice paid as taxes, of river embankments, and house construction, of roads, and posts, and of the mines in the different provinces.

The Shōgun followed my plan and appointed these officers. Revenues had decreased a fifth, not because the farmers paid less but because the expense of collection had increased. The cost of needed repairs grew larger year by year, for the officials kept back part of the funds and the work was badly done. The first year after the appointment of the censors the revenue was very much increased and a large saving made in the repairs' account without injury to the work. The farmers rejoiced. We also heard nothing more of heavy losses in grain while being brought to Edo.

Another paper called attention to abuses in the judiciary, and the Shōgun ordered a strict investigation, but he died before the reforms were accomplished.

In the autumn Hagiwara Ōmi no Kami Shigehide was removed from office and put under arrest. People did not know why he was removed but all rejoiced at the fact. The way of it was this :—During a period of six months I had sent in three papers accusing him of the following crimes. As every one knows in the reign of the late Shōgun, Shigehide controlled the treasury to the destruction of good government and the great grief of *samurai* and people. And he wished to debase the silver still further when our lord came into power but this was stopped.

I have already mentioned the building of the new palace, rumor said the extravagance was very great and that this magnificence excelled that of the Chinese Emperor whose extravagance caused the overthrow of his

dynasty. Rumor added that one room was wholly made of aloe wood and that this illustrated the whole. So I told Zembō Asson that "our lord's removal to his new home is not a subject for congratulations, though I do not believe these rumors." After awhile I was taken over the place and shown everything, even the private apartment and the room of aloe wood. This was a little room ten feet high and six feet square with posts in its recess which had been planed. The room was in the south garden, by the pond below the hill. "This" said my guide, "is the so-called room of aloe wood. The wood is not Japanese and was found in one of the government warehouses, last summer, in Asakusa. It has no odor, perhaps from its age. The Shōgun commanded its use here." In nothing was rumor sustained so the large expenditure was the more inexplicable. But Hagiwara explained that the lumber in the storehouses proved worthless and so he sold it and bought from the merchants. He paid whatever they asked, an hundred *ryō* for a stick, saying he had no time to bargain and so brought the total expenditure up to seven hundred thousand *ryō*! Owing to fires, lumber was dearer than ever before and *hi-no-ki* was said to be worth its weight in gold. At all events, many poor lumber merchants suddenly became rich and many officials also. So they divided the wealth of the people between them.

The following spring (1710) the coinage was again discussed, as the officials had suffered much loss from coins which broke, as Shigehide said because the proportion of silver had been so much increased. He proposed to restore the coins to the old standard, but to decrease

their size by half, and urged that the only other way by which the standard could be restored was by halving the number of the coins. The officials all assented to this, and he further proposed to gradually increase the weight until both in size and fineness the coins should be restored to the old standard.

I argued that if the weight were reduced, folks would still distrust the coins even though the fineness be restored, for ever since the gold had been debased with silver and the silver with copper, prices had fluctuated constantly and this new plan will increase the distrust. The standard was gold 8. 5. 6 and silver 1. 4. 2 but by the change the gold was reduced to 5. 6. 4 and the silver increased to 4. 3. 1. Shigehide was so distrusted that one chief censor and two ordinary censors were appointed to watch him as the re-coinage went on. But I soon heard that the new coins were worse than the old, and was astonished, as I knew the Shōgun had forbidden the further debasement even in the financial straits at the beginning of his reign. So I mentioned the rumor to him but Shigehide declared that the coins conformed to standard and then I left the decision to the Shōgun's own judgment.

When I was in Kyōto the regent asked me why Shigehide was given new honors and I replied "Because he works day and night. Too great promotion is good for no one, but if he reforms his ways because of these favors it will be a blessing to the country and to himself." He was everywhere praised because he had provided for all needs at the beginning of this reign in spite of the financial distress. He covered his evil deeds and displayed his good ones. For example, when the new

buildings were to be put up at the north of the castle, no one could get timber but when he was put in charge he got it at once, to everyone's astonishment. But he had sole charge of the treasury, for he dismissed the censors and so all the merchants were at his bidding. Their profits were great and how much he made no one knows. From the re-coining of the silver only he made at least two hundred and sixty thousand *ryō* and pictures and curios innumerable, besides sixty thousand *ryō* that one of his servants got. This we discovered from the books of one of the silver workers who was punished for his crimes. Shigehide had been in office thirty years, and had gradually risen in rank until his allowance was 3700 *koku.* It was cut down to 700 *koku* as a part of his punishment.

In providing horses and men for the Korean embassy, his proposals were so injurious that I took the matter to the Shōgun, who directed the *daimyō* to follow the ancient precedents.

Everything was bought and built by public tenders and these were opened in the presence of the merchants and officials, the lowest offer to be accepted and payment to be made on the completion of the work. But there were gifts to the officials when the tenders were sent in, and thankofferings when the work was done. Those who gave nothing got nothing however low their bids. No official failed to get rich, and the treasury was exhausted when the former Shōgun died. Things worth an hundred *ryō* cost ten thousand *ryō*. Shigehide had charge of all purchases for the Korean embassy.

Soon after the re-issue of the coins prices rose and varied constantly. Folks said it was because of the heavy

expenses in the beginning of the reign, and consequent on the coming of the embassy. I argued in a paper that I sent in to the Shōgun to this effect, The ancients said, "In three years examine your course of action" but in these three years past no investigation has been made. But the Shōgun replied;—"Men of honesty lack ability and men of ability lack honesty. Very seldom is there a really competent man and we have no one able to take charge of the finances. Shigehide's misdeeds are known but there is no one else." But to this I replied and urged the appointment of examiners, and denied that Shigehide had either honesty or ability. The examiners were appointed.

A dispute had arisen between some tenants of the Shōgun and the tenants of a *daimyō*. Shigehide decided for the Shōgun's tenants, and the other judges were silent. So no decision was reached and I sent in another paper asking an opportunity to argue his incompetence in public and making ten charges against him. Zembō Asson told me that the Shōgun was astonished at the fierceness of my attack and shortly after dismissed him from office. It was quite useless for any one to bring any acusations against any of the Shōgun's people before Shigehide. For example,—he let a dispute as to boundaries be decided in favor of the Shōgun's tenants, through the evidence of stones and posts cunningly hidden in the ground: when a ship was wrecked on the Shōgun's domain and broken up and looted by his farmers, the latter were acquitted and the sailors punished; and when some of his farmers insulted some *samurai* and the latter cut down some of the farmers the *samurai* were punished!

Only forty days before Shigehide was removed from

office, he again debased the coinage, alleging a secret or of the Shōgun. The Shōgun had said to him just bef "I am told there is much suffering because of the coin issued two years ago" but Shigehide sent in a writ denial which the Shōgun believed. However, as reports continued, he sharply asked the reason for s rumors of distress and hatred and then Shigehide said "When you became Shōgun there were no funds although you told me not to touch the money, still there was no other way I debased it privately. I kr my crime and confess it openly." The Shōgun amazed and took the matter into consideration. Where Shigehide took this silence for consent and began to deb the coins again, with this conversation with the Shō as his warrant.

Shigehide died soon after his removal from office, the evil he had done continued, the military preparati were stopped, the coins would not circulate and gove ment and people were alike troubled. I have not he of another wretch like Shigehide since the beginning the Empire. In these thirty years no one in all sixty provinces was ignorant of his misdeeds, and yet one of the great retainers of two Shōgun informed th for the sake of Shōgun and country. I only with mov arm and pen ceased not to write accusations and third succeeded. No Shōgun for many years deser such praise as my lord. He died the next month so t he would have been blamed had he longer delayed great escape! As of old Yu aided Shun* so to my o

* The fabulous sage king of China Yu being first the efficient mini of Shun. It is said Arai purposed to insult Shigehide and then, in quarrel, kill him, himself committing hara-kiri of course and that coming to the ears of the Shōgun led to the dismissal.

family may Zembō Asson and I be said without error to have contributed a twentieth to the success of his reign. This shows too how intimate was my relation to the Shōgun.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SHŌGUN'S DEATH.

All the year the Shōgun was ill and the coolness of autumn brought no benefit, nor did any medicine help him, to our great anxiety. On the 26th October (1712) I was summoned and given, as a parting present the history of the twenty three dynasties (of China).

Two days later I was again summoned and Zembō Asson gave me this message from the Shōgun :—" That which has a beginning has an end and we must consider what comes after; and especially I in my illness. Folks hate death and will not think of it, and so when it comes their thoughts are in confusion. In my illness are now and then intervals for thought, and I have considered two plans which I submit to you, for decision. That is why I send for you.

Without desire of my own I became the heir to the Empire of Ieyasu, and now leave a son. But I do not look upon the Empire as my property and I know that troubles ever arise when the ruler is a child. To guard this Ieyasu established the Three Houses. Now what shall I do? Shall I send for the Lord of Owari, make him my heir and let him decide as to my son should he become a man? Or as one of my sons has survived fortunately, shall I let him be heir and put the Lord of

Owari in the Western Mansion to help my son and to succeed him should he die while still young?"

This was my answer;—"I agree with neither proposal, though they are most generous, since even the humblest seek the advancement of their children. But your proposals are not for the good of the Empire. We need not search ancient history, for even in the days of Ieyasu men were undecided as to their course of action until one of his sons died, and the same difficulty arose in the time of the second Shōgun. Surely there should be no trouble between father and son, or between brothers, but as the proverb says "trouble comes from bèlow" and officials create difficulties and tell lies, making bad feeling, until men have killed their younger brothers by the same mother. So was it in the days of Ieyasu and it will be worse now. If your plan is adopted there will be parties formed with confusion in consequence. In the days of Ieyasu's ancestors were many youthful heirs and among them Ieyasu himself. I need not state the reason why it was so. But now there are the Three Houses and the other great vassals and there need be no anxiety though your heir is so young." *

Again the Shōgun replied;—"All say my son is like a bubble on the stream. If he die in a few years I shall be thought a man without foresight. What of this? Consider!"

And I replied,—"The three Houses were established by Ieyasu for such an emergeney;" and with this my lord

* Doubtless the many historical instances of the murder of rulers and of their sons that darken the pages of Japanese history were in the mind of Arai. To make a child the ruler that the official might rule through him was not uncommon.

was content, saying "Should I recover count this as pleasant talk." As this was repeated to me I wept bitterly and said "This is the end of my labor for him, with my poor strength and little wisdom." I told Zembō Asson to tell him this also, and thought he would summon me again, but no response came and I could add no more.

After Shigehide's removal the new coinage was stopped, and I was told to consult with the officials and to prepare plans. On the eighth November the Shōgun told the officials to publish it on the tenth. That night he was very ill and there was rushing to and fro. I too went to the castle where Aoyama Bizen-no-Kami awaited me, saying,—"I am greatly distressed about the succession but your coming relieves me." And when I told him it had long been arranged, he added, "Then I am content." He thought only of this and there was none other like him—a worthy descendant of worthy ancestors.

On the thirteenth the Shōgun died. At noon he summoned Her Grace and the others, and the mother of his child and said, "I am much better and shall soon be around and see you all." Next he summoned the Council of State and explained his plans for the future; and then he called the lower officials and thanked them. Finally, through Akihira Asson (Zembō's brother) he sent for me. Zembō was by his pillow and Masanao was behind the Shōgun. He said nothing but opened his eyes and looked at me. This was the end of our daily meetings during twenty four years.

Afterwards he said to Zembō Asson "I have no more to say. Have you anything to ask?" "No" said Zembō, "nothing remains." The Shōgun said, "Raise me up!"

"What! When you are so ill!" they cried. "With nothing more to say or think it is time to rest" he said. Even now his servants weep as they think of that time.

The Shōgun had well considered the future and told her Grace, but at his death he told the officials that he had entrusted everything to Echizen-no-Kami Zembō Asson and that they should ask of him.

When one of the servants wept before the Shōgun he said, "Weep not! It is the common lot." In the intervals of his final illness he spoke only of public affairs and especially of the coming hundredth anniversary of the death of Ieyasu. I have never heard of an equally splendid death of a Shōgun.

From the beginning of my lord's reign the supply of copper had been insufficient for the trade with the Hollanders in Nagasaki and the magistrates asked for instructions. The Shōgun referred their question to me.

Since Ieyasu, more than half of our gold and silver has gone abroad (the government's books show that one fourth of the gold and three fourths of the silver, and much has disappeared unrecorded) and anyone can see that all will have gone in another century. Though the metals are constantly dug up, yet are they like the bones in a man's body, they do not grow again, and so differ from the grains which are like the hair. Great is the difference in land and season as to grain production; still fewer are metal bearing fields, and good seasons for mining come very seldom. We have never been helped by foreign lands and need only their medicines. How unwise then to barter our treasures for their useless articles! If their ships do not come still we shall suffer nothing, but if we must trade

let us heed the Classics and conform our expenditures to our income. We must govern our trade with Loo Choo, China, Korea and the lands of the west and south. The increase of prices would be a less evil than the loss of our treasures.

I argued all this at length, and the Shōgun bade me prepare tables exhibiting the results of this trade in years past, and he sent them to the Nagasaki magistrates to be filled out as the decision should be based on facts.

The magistrates reported that the copper had not sufficed for two years past, and that some folks suffered while others carried on an illicit trade and sent gold and silver abroad. The Shōgun said, "This commerce hurts both the present and the future. Even the medicinal plants used to be grown at home. Once tobacco and cotton were unknown but now they are grown everywhere. Let us import other seeds and plant them in carefully selected soil. In the past our articles were sought from foreign countries: let us be content and make them again for ourselves. "So at his decree, the Kyōto officials ordered the goods for him of which he had spoken, but they came when he was ill and I grieved when Zembō Asson showed them to me and said,—"I am reminded of the bringing of the orange seeds." *

This year there was a strife, concerning the color of the robes worn by the son of the emperor, when he visited Edo and Nikkō as representative of the temples in Nara. He wore a red robe but there was a protest against it, which declarsd that abbots should dress in white and wear red only when their learning is complete and great.

* The emperor Suinin sent to China for orange seeds but died as they were brought to him.

But the other party contended for an exception to the rule in the case of the Emperor's son. The question came for decision after the Shōgun's death. He had always followed my advice but now all is ended as in a dream.

The Shōgun died at sundown on the thirteenth of November (1712). Next day the officials assembled and all wept as his parting message was read. *

On the nineteenth the body was taken to Zōjōji and I went with it. That day flowers fell from heaven and folks caught them in dishes. They were like gold colored thistle flowers and crumbled in a few days to nothing. †

On the 30th November was the funeral, at evening. The dress was not prescribed but each wore an oak leaf and the sword scabbards were black. Greatly mourning I was of the company. Others said they saw a great star encircling the moon, but I saw it not. As we went from the temple to the tomb, something like hail seemed to fall

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* The last message of the Shōgun,—"In my incapacity I have sought to rule by the help of the virtue of Iyeyasu, whose inheritance I received. I need not say how greatly I have failed, in my brief time.

Every one knows how, from ancient times, evils afflict the nation when rulers are children and officials quarrel over rank, form parties, will not agree but distrust each other. On the other hand even the barbarians cross the tempestuous seas in safety when they join strength in working the boat. Still more should all unite now, born now after an hundred years of peace, grown up together and all by the blessing of Ieyasu.

In return for that blessing let all think of the people and realm and forbid the evils that came to ancient empires through youthful rulers Only by such united action can dangers to the Tokugawa House and to the people be escaped. Let all, high and low, small and great look well to this." Shōtoku 2nd year, 10th Month 9th day, (1712 November 7. Sealed with a black seal.

† The priests of this temple in Edo were very fond of marvels and famous for their inventive powers.

everywhere but especially on the roofs of the temporary structures. It was a shower of round balls that shone like light, and for two or three days folks picked them up in the roads. There seem to have been such things—though one scarcely believes such tales from others.

During the fifty days of mourning the very voices of the children were hushed. I have heared of a land mourning as for a parent, it was a true blessing to see it.

On the 19th of November the officials were asked their opinions of the decree as to the coinage which had been given to the Council of State on the 7th. I have been charged with getting up the decree after the Shōgun's death but as the Elders had been told to issue it on the 9th they know that the charge is false.

Three of the witnesses are still alive as I write. A placard was posted on my gate saying.—"The Place for Making Decrees about Gold and Silver!" Such placards had been posted in the beginning of my lord's reign and in other periods but this one was the worst of all. The Council of State had desired to forbid them but the Shōgun said,—"No! They may contain some truth and I shall not stop all expression of opinion." And he ordered the officials to show them to him.

The Shōgun had also passed judgement as to the boat from Funatsu village in the province of Kii which had been wrecked near Shinagawa Tōtōmi province. The boat had run on the sands and the people had broken it up and stolen its cargo. One of its sailors cut down a man with his sword. The magistrate decided that though the people stole the cargo they were too many to be punished. The sailors on the other hand falsely accused the people of the theft of their cashbox and should be beheaded.

When my opinion was asked I wrote,—Though the folk number ten thousand they should be punished if they took the goods. The law of Kan-ei 13th, 8th month 2nd day (Sept. 1 1636) provides that when the crew of a wrecked vessel conspire with the landsmen to steal the cargo all shall be put to death, and every house in the neighborhood shall be assessed two pence and a half. This just meets the case and it will not do to refuse to enforce it because the offenders are many. By this law let the leaders be fined that compensation may be made to the owners Moreover, is it not probable that the sailors charged the theft of their cashbox in order to stimulate the zeal of the officers, knowing they would not seek earnestly for stolen clothing and such like things? They acted from some such motive and do not deserve punishment. Besides, is such an accusation a greater crime than theft? How happens it the less crime is punished and the greater forgiven?"

The Shōgun decided in accordance with my opinion and bade me write the judgment. It was announced after his death.

BOOK III.

THE REIGN OF THE INFANT SHŌGUN.

CHAPTER I.

THE MOURNING FOR THE SHŌGUN.

During these many years my lord's kindness to me had been wonderful, although I had uttered all that was in my heart. He had given great heed to all I said. But after his death no one listened when I spoke and so I wrote above, "This is the end of my labor." His wise plans for the Empire were incomplete when he died but, as I know, he trusted me to carry them out after his decease.

Beyond these plans I had no further connection with the affairs of state as the young Shōgun had many helpers. In the spring the Shōgun had told me with some others, to reform the court journal, but now as there was no one to decide between us I left this also to the others.

While thus unemployed in the 11th month (December —January) it was decreed that ambassadors should be sent at once to the shrines at Nikko and Ise since the Shōgun was too young to observe the customary mourning. I was astonished, and on inquiry Zembō Asson told me that the Minister of Education had stated that children not yet seven years old, do not observe the

mourning ceremonies for parents. As I said before, the affairs of state were not my business but I could not let pass this one thing and told Zembō Asson," Though the Book of Rites states that children under seven do not observe the ceremonies, it nowhere says they do not mourn their parents. Still less does it bid the heir of the ruler of the Empire as he becomes the lord of the whole people, follow the rules for ordinary children."

Zembō Asson repeated this to Hayashi Minister of Education and he replied, " The decree accords with the unchangeable rules of the Mourning Rites of *Gen-roku* (the period 1688-1704), as determined by the Shōgun. Who now disputes it?" The Council of State sided with him and Zembō Asson said to me,—" You cannot move the officials after such an answer." But I told him that the consequences would be great and that I should write out my argument though I had no responsibility, and no influence.

This is the substance of my paper;—The mourning ceremonies established by the Sages strengthen the relationships of parent and child, lord and retainer. Even in China, from age to age, changes have been made, and still greater ones in our land but all, even the omissions, are in obedience to the ancient forms. So was it with the changes made in *Gen-roku.* The late Shōgun at the beginning of his reign investigated this subject, and I wrote out the results in a book and made illustrations but he died before the reforms were complete.

The *Gen-roku* rules say that a child of seven neither mourns nor is mourned for. This is said to conform to ancient Japanese precedent, and no ceremonies are laid down. Still it is not said the child does not mourn for

its parents, and in the ancient ceremonies it did mourn. Why then do the *Gen-roku* rules say that children neither mourn nor are mourned for, so that there is no mourning for our lord? And why do they omit the ancient law that rulers be mourned for one year, so that his retainers do not mourn? But we need not discuss the reforming of the *Gen-roku* rules, but may argue on other principles.

The young Shōgun only, survives of all the sons of his father and if he does not mourn because of his youth and if the retainers do not mourn, what shall be the symbol of the great grief of the Empire? Our books speak of a mourning heart that may dispense with a mourning garb, and if the young Shōgun and the officials follow this, though they wear no mourning costume and follow the *Gen-roku* rules, they will not propose festivities like these missions to Nikkō and Ise. So will the Way of Piety and Loyalty and Filial feelings be strengthened throughout the Empire, even though the *Gen-roku* rules are obeyed.

Some may doubt if this heart mourning does not violate those rules, but the question touches only the one point of the mourning of a child. But government is for the establishment of morality; and loyalty and filial piety are its foundations. Which shall we choose,—a doubt as to the mourning of a child, or the destruction of the basis of the Empire, and of the morals of the people?

In China in Ying Tsung's reign of the Sung dynasty (A. D. 1064–1068) and again in the reign of She Tsung of the Ming dynasty were similar incidents, and when the emperors became adults they punished the ministers of their youth. Though the Shōgun has no opinions now,

the time must be anticipated when he will be grown up and will reflect upon the past.

Zembō Asson put my paper in his sleeve and sought the opinions of the officials; but what they first hear is their lord, and so they would not take my advice.

Then he took it to the august grandmother, and to the august mother, and showed it to them and they thought this omission of mourning something which should cause a fear of Heaven, as it violated Heaven's laws and they further feared the anger of the Shōgun when he should grow up, and learn of this want of piety. So the ladies desired the "heart mourning" and it was decreed. The officials could not argue further and the festivities were postponed until the twelfth month.

Hayashi was very angry and argued before the Council of State, that the obligations are mutual, and that as parents do not mourn for young children, the children do not mourn for parents, citing precedents from the ancient books. This was on the 27th of December (1712) and Zembō Asson showed me the argument. I said in reply, "As my suggestion has been adopted I need not answer, but my ideas are certainly in accord with the precepts of the Sages and with good morals. Hayashi's argument contradicts not me only but them also. Proud of his temporary position he seeks to instruct the people, and will prove a guide to disobedience and disloyalty to all who follow him. A lasting sorrow! We destroy his errors by the teaching of the books of ceremonies." Then I quoted the books, showing that children do mourn, and I called on him to show clear proof to the contrary and to append his proof to my essay. I further set forth two arguments from our funeral rites.

When Zembō Asson showed this to Hayashi he replied ;—"As in the most ancient books I see no instance of such mourning, I hold as at first. Beyond this there is no proof. I cannot say that the Book of Rites forbids the mourning; but the commentary on the *Genji Monogatari* shows that it was not the Japanese custom for children to mourn. If he quotes the Book of Rites then the mourning should be for three years."

To this I replied ;—"My use of the Book of Rites, was because he declared my contention to be opposed to the teaching of the Sages. He takes that back, and thus my position is shown to be correct to all future ages. As to the rest, what shall I say of a Minister of Education quoting a commentary on the *Genji Monogatari*, in order to show that the teaching of the Sages on the most important subjects need not be obeyed in Japan?"

I took the paper and went home. To pass all this on will be of service, for it not only confirms good morals but establishes the system of Confucius for all time in our Empire. The whole debate is given in my manuscript and in Kyūso's book.

Hayashi's own pupils told of his embarassment when Zembō Asson pressed him with my questions! Such a teacher naturally has such pupils and the decay of learning in Japan is likewise explained.

Hayashi also urged that the ideograph "*sho*" should not be used in "year-names" and quoted Chinese authors in support of his position. Zembō Asson asked my opinion, and though my ideas could no longer prevail still I hesitated to refuse to reply and said ;—"The men of the Ming dynasty (in China) in more books than

those quoted, argued that the ideograph is of evil influence and should not be employed. But superior men do not agree to this at all.

The Empire's prosperity, man's long life or few days, come either from Heaven's decree or from man's deeds. Happiness and sorrow do not come from the use of particular words in the "year-names." The men who lost the Empire (in China) in times when "sho" was used, lost it by their wickedness and not by their use of this name. So has it been with the great calamities, they were because of the emperors and not because of this word. Lay to heart Mencius's saying,—"Do not blame the age for your crime."

It is unnecessary to argue at length and one illustration will suffice;—With his advancing age man does not lose identity, though he is called successively, infant, youth, middle aged; nor yet with the different names given him, at three months and at twenty years nor with the several appellations used by his various relatives. So is it with hours, days, months and years—the hours become days as they are joined together and the days become months and the months years. These names indicate the same time. So if "sho" must not be used for years neither must it be used for months.* But from the time of the Sages "sho" has been the name of the first month, and so Confucius writes in "The Spring and Autumn." "The "sho"

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* The peoples of the Far-east reckon time by periods of varying length, designated by "year-names." These "year-names" were given by the emperors and this was one of the most distinctive marks of their sovereignty.

The ideograph "sho" means "holy" and brings misfortune if used by unholy men.

month is the beginning of the year." If then it is unlucky every year should have been unlucky from his day to ours. And if anyone think this argument trifling I still want to hear why "sho" is lucky in months and unlucky in years. "The reforms wrought by superior man constitute the "Way" of the Empire for generations, his deeds are its laws and his words its precedents;" and "he who knows not the decrees of Heaven is not superior man," so it is not a superior men who thinks of "sho" as unlucky.

In sixteen "year-names" has the word been used here in Japan; and by no means have all been unlucky and if some of the periods so named have been calamitous, so may it be argued of all the ideographs used from the beginning, since in both China and Japan the "year-names" have been changed chiefly because of signs in heaven, and because of calamities on earth, floods, droughts, or epidemics. If the names bring evil let us return to the ancient custom and use none, but even then there were evils as to-day. Further, I have met with men from Holland, Italy, and other lands, and though "year-names" are used only in two or three places and the rest reckon so many thousands, hundreds and tens of years since the beginning of heaven and earth, yet few countries in Europe during the past twenty-four years have escaped confusion caused by struggles about the succession to dead princes. This winter and last many were killed in war. For what was that the punishment? Even with no "year-name" destruction is not escaped easily when man loses virtue.

In China and Japan the same words have been used in different periods, which have proved the happiest and the

most calamitous in our annals and instances innumerable prove that "names" and misfortunes have no connection.

This change of the "year-name" is the only edict that is promulgated by our Emperor, as even the Chinese know, and its cause has ever been calamities, portents and changes in the calendar. It has never been done because of the misfortunes of a Shōgun. Doubtless there have been coincidences, and the superficial student may suppose the change was made because a Shōgun had died, but there was always another reason for the change; and without such reason no change has ever been made in the year when a Shōgun has died.

If now the "year-name" is changed because of the death of the Shōgun what suspicions will be aroused in Kyōto; and even if other reasons are assigned, still the Shōgun's councillors will suffer from the criticism of men who are truly learned and wise. Take great care not to make a mistake."

But in spite of Zembō Asson's efforts my opinion was not adopted. *

CHAPTER II.

A VERY DIFFICULT CASE.

In my lord's time, one day (28th September 1711) after the lecture he sent me a very difficult case.

A merchant of Matsushiro, Shinano, came to Edo with his wife who was from Komabayashi village, Kawanoe

* Hayashi obtained the aid of the ladies of the Shōgun's court by an appeal to their superstitions.

township, Musashi province. On the 29th August the woman's brother took her out to Kawagoe, and on the 2nd September told her to remain a while at her father's as her husband had gone back to Matsushiro, but would return on the 19th at latest. But on the 19th he had not come and she was told of a man drowned in the neighboring river. Full of fear she went to see, but the man was floating face downwards. Her father and brother would not help her turn the body but said, "It cannot be he." But she could not restrain herself and the next day had the body turned by the headman of the village and—it was her husband. This was on the land of Tajima-no-Kami, Takatomi.

The officers examined her father, brother and others and as the answers were not satisfactory, searched the house and found the effects of the dead man. So there was no escape and the father and brother confessed the murder and to putting the body in the water. There was no question as to their guilt, but Tajima-no-Kami Takatomi wished to know if the woman were not "an informer against her father."

My answer was, "Consider it well. It concerns the three relations, not husband and wife, and parent and child only, but lord and retainer also. It cannot be settled by ordinary precedents." But the Shōgun asked for precedents and Kyūso and I examined the books thoroughly and in the morning he wrote me agreeing with my opinion and saying "The Introduction to the *Zansai* of the *Girei Sofukuden* is conclusive." It was indeed fortunate that the proof was so clear.

On the 4th of October, after the lecture, the Shōgun showed me the opinion which the magistrates had sent in

quoting a case of *Teiko* 4th year 4th month, when a woman, who charged her husband with adultery with her mother (the two were beheaded) was punished as an "informer," being imprisoned for a year and then sold as a slave. The Shōgun remarked, "This does not seem to apply," and I agreed and added "The woman is not guilty."

On the 7th I was shown Hayashi's opinion. The minister of education had written it for the Council of State, and this was its substance: When Saichu of Tei asked her mother, Which is first, father or husband? she replied, Only one can be father, anyone may be husband. This woman revealed her father's guilt, and the Analects say, "To conceal a parent's guilt is righteousness and truth." In the Laws it is written, "Let him who exposes a parent's crime be put to death." But I said, "She did not know her father's crime and her case is an exception. In our Japan an informer on a parent is banished though the commentary says the punishment should be strangling. Neither of those quotations apply and it was not a case of accidental homicide." So I was told to re-argue the case and going home wrote out my opinion at once and sent it to the Shōgun on the 8th as follows:—

I have carefully studied the matter submitted on the 28th of September viz.—The merchant's wife, troubled at his absence hears of the body in the river and gets the headman to show it to her. It is her husband, and as her father and brother were the murderers, the officials think it a case of "informing against parents." The magistrates condemn her to servitude and the Minister of Education agrees with them.

In my opinion the case does not come under "The

Three Relations" nor do ordinary precedents apply. Three points should be considered,—The relations, the rules for mourning, and the application of exceptional rules to exceptional cases.

The rules of the ancient kings provide, that while the daughter remains at home, though promised in marriage or though married having returned to her father, she shall observe three years of strict mourning for him should he die. But, if she is living with her husband she shall observe only one year of half-mourning. The difference is so very great that we shonld observe how it is set forth in the commentary of the *Sofuku.** A woman is never independent but owes duties, when unmarried to her father, when married to her husband, and when widowed to her son. The father is the child's Heaven, and the husband is the wife's. So it is written, "A woman cannot mourn strictly twice, as Heaven is not two." She cannot mourn for two at the same sime. So then a wife who obeys her husband cannot obey her father.

Events are ordinary or extraordinary, and in their judgment laws should be immovable or exceptional. As the ancient scholar says;—Exceptions uphold the rule.

Now it is the settled law that the woman at home obeys her father and when married her husband. In the usual relations the lord is lord, and the retainer is retainer: the father is father, and the son is son: the husband is husband, and the wife is wife. But now the retainer does not cease to be retainer, because the lord ceases to be lord. But in following such exceptions we are not to lose the rule. The greatest possible exception is, when a retainer's

* The book of mourning-rites and ceremonies.

father kills his lord, or when a woman's father kills her husband. The retainer then cannot be both loyal and filial, nor the woman obedient and filial. No human calamity equals this! Of old in such emergencies retainers have been loyal to their lord, and women have obeyed their husband. Now no one can be found who has charged her father with the death of her husband, though some have told a father that their husband had a command from his lord to kill the father, and so the father has killed the husband, and this was the instance quoted above when the mother replied, "Any one may be husband but only one a father." If that reply and the daughter's deed which followed were right, then are they disobedient and wicked who for a husband's sake make a father no longer father. And shall we say, "Any one may be lord, only one a father,—how can the two be compared?" May one help his father to kill his lord? But the superior man praised the man who revealed the plot of his father against his lord, as it is written, "Great virtue destroys love." Confucius says, "The father conceals his son's evil, and the son his father's." This is the rule. Which is the greater offence to steal a sheep or to kill a lord?* The settled rules of the ancient kings make the woman's Heaven to be her husband and not her father. If the father kill the husband the ordinary rules do not apply to a woman if she inform; and still less to this woman who recovered the corpse by the aid of the headman and then recognized her husband. The government discovered the crime. It is not a case of "informing." Why is she judged guilty?

* Confucius words concerned the stealing of a sheep.

When the full discovery was made her suicide would have preserved her filial, wifely and sisterly virtue. It would have been the perfection of virtue in this great exception to the normal relations, but to reprove her for not attaining perfection is to judge her "as we do not judge ourselves." No woman has killed herself for such a reason, but many have preserved their widowhood until death, nor did the ancients think their virtue small. And this agrees with my private opinion.

A wife's relation is that of the retainer, and if we praise Risai and Sekien,* we shall not agree with the words quoted by Hayashi. The magistrates say that the precedents show that she should be imprisoned for a year and then be made a slave, and the Minister of Education says, "Had she known her father's guilt the penalty would have been death. But as she did it unwittingly she shall be made a slave."

If she is declared innocent, as I propose, I have a strong desire for her. The young widow's passions are still undecayed and she has no protector. The pine's green leaf, if very strong, may resist the winter's cold but in her case I have my doubts. Not only should I lament the loss of her virtue but the righteousness of the government would be violated. Those who have become monks and nuns for the loss of father or husband have been many. Now if it is privately hinted to her that she become a nun, shave her head, enter a convent, study and keep the rules because of these deaths; and if the property of her husband and father be given to the con-

* Risai informed his lord of his father's purposed rebellion and committed suicide. Sekien also informed and was killed by his father.

vent, there will be no anxiety as to her support and her virtue and the righteousness of the government will be preserved."

My advice was followed and by the aid of Takatomi Asson the woman became a nun in a convent at Kamakura.

CHAPTER III.

THE INVESTITURE OF THE YOUNG SHŌGUN.

After the fifty days of mourning on the eleventh day of the twelfth month (January 7, 1713) the young Shōgun assumed the government. By the precedents he should have had the title *Shōsanmi Dainagon* when his head was shaved and his hair fastened in a cue, and still later the title *Shōni* would have been bestowed, and only after he became Shōgun should the emperor's messenger have come from Kyōto. But as he inherited his position when so young Zembō Asson asked me to set forth the proper procedure which I did, since I could not decline.

The name is given by the father, but in the present instance by the father of the emperor. I wrote the petition to him and suggested the name.

On the eighth of January came an Imperial letter conferring the *Shōni* rank and the title *Dainagon* and so the child at once became Shōgun. The letter bestowing the name came the same day. A lucky day was chosen for the ceremony (January 17) and folks paid their respects on the next day but one. As in the case of the former Shōgun I was given thirty *ryō* and other gifts as my honorarium.

The putting on the *hakama* was on the next New Year's day, (26 January, 1713) and on the seventeenth of February I was given three gold *ryō* for choosing the "precious ideographs" for the Shōgun to write.* The same day I was given three books, by order of the Shōgun, which had been ordered by the late Shōgun through the governor of Nagasaki.

On the thirteenth of April, as bidden, I sent in the details for the ceremony of the hair cutting, including a description of the implements and of the ornaments for the room. On the twenty-first the Shōgun went to the *Shraso-in* where his crown was put on his head by Hikone-no-kami and his hair was cut by Aidzu-no-Kami. I saw it all from the rear. I too was often in the castle in connection with the visit of Konoe the former regent.†

On the twenty-sixth of April was the investiture and this I saw from the rear as in the case of the former Shōgun. A little later my land was increased as the former Shōgun had commanded.

On November fifth, 1714, I chose the name for the great bell of *Bun-sho-byō* as I had been commanded. The previous year, after my lord's death a commission came from Kyōto granting him such posthumous name as might be chosen. When Zembō Asson asked me about

* The first ideographs written by a young Japanese are chosen with especial care.

† This Shōgun was Yūshō-in, Iyetsugu-kō the third son of Bunshō-ko. He was four years old when his father died. A great discussion arose as to his "crowning" as if he were the son of the Emperor. It is supposed to have been connected with plans of Arai's for the ending of the dual government and the enthronement of the Shōgun. It is also given as the reason why Arai was not "employed" by the next Shōgun.

it I said, "As the name goes down to future generations and abroad to foreign lands, an excellent name should be chosen, and I suggest *Bun* and *Sho.*" The Council sent both on to Kyōto where the two were adopted, ***Bunshō-kō.*** That my suggestion for the posthumous name of my lord and for the name of the Shōgun should have been approved by the emperor and his father, and that I was bidden write the inscription for the bell were great favours.*

At the anniversary services on December first, all was done according to the former precedent. Besides the highest officials only ten persons were present. All were arrayed in their most elaborate robes of ceremony.

CHAPTER IV.

THE UOYANA BOATS.

On the 22nd August the case concerning the Uoyana boats was heard. Freight sent from Ōsaka to Yamato province was transferred, because of the shallow water, at Kamegase in Kawachi province to the Uoyana boats and by them was brought to its destination. From the *Keicho* period (1596–1615) these boats which belonged to the folks in the village Tate, Heguri township, Yamato province, had been in charge of the Shintō priest and with the profits the Shintō temple Tatsuda had been maintained without aid from the government, and moreover paid an annual tax of thirty *ryō.*

In *Genroku* 10 (A. D. 1697) the villagers offered to pay

* The name contains an allusion to the ancient Chinese poem—"Truly brave, truly wise, clearly equal to his ancestors."

a tax of one hundred and fifty *ryō* if one of them were put in charge of the boats, and as the offer was large and the villagers were tenants of the Shōgun it was accepted.

In the intercalary first month of Hōei 5 (Feb. 1708) the farmers of five hundred and three villages, tenants of the Shōgun and different *daimyō*, complained to the governor of Nara, Miyoshi Bizen-no-kami, that though the villagers had promised to follow the established custom yet they not only gradually had increased the charges, but when the boats were damaged and the freight injured refused to pay damages and stole the cargo that was saved.

Again in March, the sellers of dried fish in Osaka complained that though in the past, fish (for use as manure) which was lost *en route* had been paid for, last year payment was refused when boats were lost because of the great earthquake, and this in spite of the commands of the magistrates.

In the fifth month (June–July) Bizen-no-kami referred these complaints to Kyōto and after an examination by Ki-no-Kami Nobutsune Asson the case was sent to the magistrate of the treasury in Edo, Hagiwara Ōmi-no-Kami and to those associated with him.

After the preliminary examination the priest, Yasumura by name, asked that he might be put in charge again and offered to pay a tax of three hundred *ryō*, whereon the villagers offered three hundred and twenty nine *ryō* and said ;—We are few in numbers but our land measures a thousand *koku*. For the fourteen years past we have paid our taxes out of the income from these boats, and if that is taken away we shall suffer.

In the tenth month of the next year (Nov. 1709) the decision was given in favour of the villagers. But it did not touch upon the complaints made by the Ōsaka merchants and the farmers of the five hundred and three villages.

The spring of the next year (1710) after the change of Shōguns, when Bizen-no-kami came to Edo to the ceremonies, he handed in an account of the case to Kawachi-no-kami, Tadamine Asson, who with two others investigated it and in the intercalary eighth month (Sept.-Oct.) affixed their seals to the following decision;—"Precedents do not show the boatmen to be responsible for the loss of freight; but there is a special fund for this purpose in Ōsaka made by collecting .005 for each piece of freight. Again the villagers claim that they can be held responsible only from Kamegase, where the freight is transferred to their boats. Their contention is sustained. Even government freight is not paid for when lost. The Ōsaka merchants have no case. Their fund is of private arrangement and not of law. If it is considered other complications will arise."

Tadamine Asson was very zealous for this decision, and told the magistrates to so lay down the law that the case should not come up again; and he sought to make all parties promise not to appeal.

But Bizen-no-kami would not agree, for the decision touched the complaint of the Ōsaka merchants only, and ignored the grievances of the five hundred and three villages, the dispute between tenants of the Shōgun and of the *daimyō*, and he declared that a side issue should not stop appeal. Tadamine Asson became very angry, changed colour and said, "It is not for your good to raise again a question settled by so many judges!" and

would not listen. In the winter when I visited Nara, Bizen-no-kami showed great anger as he told me about it and when I returned to Edo in the spring I told this, among other things, to the Shōgun, saying, "The decision was unjust."

Almost immediately Bizen no-kami died in his rage and then Yasumura killed himself as he felt there was no one left to help him.

Yasumura's son came to Edo in great anger, determined to have the decision against his father reversed. He made constant appeals and the priests of the temple joined with him as they now had no funds for its support. So Zembō Asson, by what means I do not know, restored all to the original conditions, giving the management to Yasumura's son, putting the tax back to the first figure and ordering the temple to be repaired at once. He sent me a copy of his decision and told me he had the authority of the late Shōgun for it.

In April (1713) as I think it was, I said to Zembō Asson,—"Luxury is increasing and prices rise so that the *hatamoto* perform their duties with difficulty. What should they do were there war? In spite of the warnings of the late Shōgun the evil grows, and now one who wishes to live within his means finds the greatest difficulty in so doing. The case is peculiarly urgent during the youth of the Shōgun. Pray consult with the elders as to remedies for this evil." He assented, consulted with the elders and bade every *hatamoto* send in his plan for the remedy of the evil.

He showed me the replies but they were mere promises of diligence in duty, and did not touch the reform of the government or the condition of the people. As the

Shōgun had always asked my opinion so now the elders sought it. But if the note is high listeners are few, and without clear proof no one will believe, so I tried to meet the mind of the times and sent in points taken from the rules of the Shōgun, making three volumes in all.

I never heard of any decision. I pressed for one before the change of officials as did Zembō Asson likewise, but time went by and my memorial was returned, endorsed,—"Too difficult, it cannot be done at present." But I had not written my own ideas but the opinion of the Shōgun and their refusal was of his ideas, not mine. The difficulty was, the officials would not! I could say no more. As it is said, When desires oppose commands there is no obedience. So if a decision were reached it could not be carried out with all the officials in opposition. When the Shōgun becomes a man, he will know I desisted because further effort was useless. They put it off saying, "We shall decide when all are heard," and never decided at all. So it ended.

CHAPTER V.

THE COINAGE.

I knew that my advice would not be followed, even though it had been sanctioned by the Shōgun, but as none of the officials considered the debasement of the coinage, which is the greatest of evils, I wrote papers zealously and though the Shōgun was already ill his decision was made. He stopped the new coinage and removed Shigehide from office, and until death, was considering ways and means for the restoration of the coins

to the proper standard. But since his death no one has done anything.

From the first I diligently studied how to remove this grief, and the more earnestly since it was unaccomplished at my lord's death and so might be accounted his error. It is filial piety to fulfill his wish and make known his will, especially as great suffering will be saved. My labour was for my lord and for his son.

I sent in the results of my study, in three volumes, to Zembō Asson in the sixth month of this year (July–August 1713) and further told him my ideas. Since the order to restore the standard had been given, all sorts of opinions were expressed :—1. To restore the silver minted since *Genroku* to the old stardard, would require 118 *man-game* of bullion while the total annual product is only 4 *sen-game* so that the product of three hundred years is needed. 2. For the separation of the copper and silver in the coins we shall need lead to the amount of 276 *man* 4 *sen game* while the yearly output is only 3737 *hiakkan*, thus requiring the product of 739 years. Nor can we count the men who will be killed by the poisonous process. 3. Were the silver restored it would not correspond to the gold unless that also is restored, and so prices will vary with the two metals. But if we make the silver coins smaller than at present but of standard purity, both the silver and the gold will answer. These were the opinions of the artizans of the Ginza. 4. If the rate of exchange is again put at 60 *me* for one gold *ryō* there will still be exchange to pay on the silver, for silver has been mixed with the gold, and copper with the silver, and gold has been reminted once, and silver often, so there are three grades of old and six of silver. To purify the

gold and reduce the size of the coins by half, and to fully restore the silver will not accomplish the desired object, for the relative values will not be restored. 5. Both can not be restored nor can the government force them to pass as of equal value. Let 10 *man ryō* of good gold be issued each year, and let the debased silver be gradually called in, thus its price will rise and values adjust themselves. Thus urged the exchangers (the bankers). 6. The low price of silver is in part from its over issue. Call in half and make good copper coins out of the copper it contains. This was, probably, the notion of those who had issued the big pence at the close of the former reign. 7. Let paper money be issued and the gold and silver called in and let it be decreed that the three pass as of equal value. Coin copper in large quantities, and with the increase of currency prices will steady themselves. Search for mines, work them all, and in ten years or so good coin will be as plentiful as in *Genroku*. Then burn half the paper and there will be no adverse critic. So said some of the elders of a little wisdom. 8. The value of the coins is less and their number doubled. The price of rice is higher than in famines yet no one dies of want. That is because the coins are so many. So let us increase the number still more, and thus even the value of the silver and gold. Evidently there has been profit in these re-coinings since *Genroku*. It is the exchangers who unsettle prices by their secret manipulations of the rate of exchange. Even if the coins are restored to the standard who knows what new scheme they will invent to injure society. Punish severely three or five of these men and the people will be comforted and the prices of gold, silver and everything will be steadied. Thus thought the military folk. Folks take

wealth as wealth and profit, but misled by these evil exchangers they clamor for a re-coinage, which cannot be.

All these were wrong, as I showed before setting forth my own views. (It all made three volumes.) Zembō Asson well knew the purpose of the late Shōgun and the urgent need but he came to think its accomplishment impossible in such a conflict of opinions. He was greatly pleased with my views, consulted the Council of State and on the 20th September the treasury magistrates decided to carry out the late Shōgun's decree. (This decision was of my writing.) But, of course, these officials desired their private gain and not the good of the Empire, nor did they understand the subject, and as they did not wish to be reproached for failure there was no one to carry out the project or to reply to objections. So it was necessary to appoint someone and Zembō Asson with the Council of State appointed seven men.

A merchant of Sakae, Idzumi province, named Tani privately wrote his views on this subject to a friend in Kyōto who forwarded the letter to me. Neither of these two men was an ordinary shopkeeper but both had been *samurai*. The plan differed from my own but could be carried out easily and as I knew the value of the opinion of a business man I showed it to Zembō Asson, who was greatly pleased at there being two ways of doing that which he had regarded as impossible. I said I should like to meet the man and was soon informed of his arrival in Edo. I sent for him and said, "This is not my business but as it is for humanity, and for the nation lay your plan before the officials." He replied, "I know a relative of Yoshimasa" (one of those in charge of the re-coinage.) "I too know him well" I said, "Tell

your friend. It is very fortunate." So I told Yoshimasa and asked him to send for Tani, and Yoshimasa was much pleased saying, " I have consulted so many to no purpose that I am made very happy by this."

So he heard Tani, questioned him, consulted with others, and on February 2, 1714, told Takatomo Asson the chief in charge. Zembō Asson of course knew all about it and left it to the seven men.

In the east, gold and copper had been chiefly used while in the west, it was mostly silver with some copper, and so the greatest troubles from the debased silver had been there, and Tani's plan had to do with that section. But as the decree bade the restoration of both metals and as the re-coining of one would cause new complications I consulted with Yoshimasa about the gold. But most officials thought best not to touch it as folks hereabouts were not troubled greatly by the debased silver, and as half the value of the gold would be lost. Most people supposed that a *ryō* of the old would be exchanged for one of the new, and all decided to study the subject.

In *Genroku* silver was mixed with gold, and copper with siver. The size and form of the coins were retained and their number was doubled. But only blind men could fail to know that half the gold had been replaced by silver, and no one will sell an article worth 100 *ryō* for less than 200 *ryō*. So with silver, though prices seem to rise, it is only because folks see that 200 *ryō* represent only 100 *ryō*. So an increase in the false number adds nothing to the true one, and if our return to the standard seems to cut down 200 *ryō* to 100 *ryō* it is only the false number that is diminished. As we fix prices by law, we must decree that fifty of the new coins be taken in place

of one hundred of the old, that no one may lose nor exchange one of the old for one of the new. The number of coins must be halved, how can the present number be maintained? Were the products of the mines sufficient there had been no reason for debasing the coinage. The people are accustomed to false dealing and their doubts will remain even if we are just, but what if any false element is permitted to remain?

All this is very simple, but the officials were so confused by sophistries that they were convinced only when all had been explained over and over again, in repeated conferences which lasted for days. In the end they saw their error and adopted Tani's plan.

The silver could be taken from the gold readily, but the extraction of the copper took much lead and the process was injurious to the workers, so it was argued. But I told them that the Osaka merchants deal in copper, separate copper and lead and take out the silver. If the process is so deadly how do they do it? Our so-called silver is really copper with a little silver mixed in and they would think nothing of getting it out.

So it was decided to examine these men, re-issue both gold and silver, and establish exchanges for the old and new coins. On the 16th June 1714 the edict was issued and I wrote it at the bidding of Zembō Asson.

The plans contained items I did not approve and were badly executed. Much was stolen, the law was changed and little good came of it, naturally enough, since men ignorant and without ability were eager to show what they could do. Zembō Asson came to agree fully with me.

On June 24 four of the Ginza artizans were banished and a fifth was dismissed from Edo. Two officials were

imprisoned in their own houses. They had violated the ancient laws and had made bad silver, a crime of great magnitude. In obedience to Shigehide they had caused much suffering throughout the Empire. Some men thought they should have been beheaded.

Of old the coinage could be changed only when all the elders put their seals on the decree, but from *Genroku* it had been left to the treasury magistrates and, more recently, to Shigehide with two other officials. That was through Shigehide's cunning. Then he formed a company of artizans in the Ginza who carried out his plans.

Their guilt was very great, but all had been left to Shigehide, and the artizans after all, were not to blame for carrying out his plans. It was a crime to leave off affixing the elders' seals, as it was to leave all to him. This was their method;—One of the company would learn Shigehide's wishes privately and then get up an agitation, and a petition would be sent to Shigehide to do thus and so, and he would yield and affix his seal to a decree granting the petition.

But the government makes laws and the people obey; if the government violate laws and the people obey how shall crime be charged against them? There are different degrees in crime, leadership, purposed participation and unwitting agreement. Shigehide's guilt was the most serious, but he was only removed from office and imprisoned at home and was pardoned at the Shōgun's death. He was not tried, but escaped just punishment and died of illness. How then shall they be put to death who sinned with him? That would imply that his body should be exhumed and beheaded. But even if dead folks were conscious, and though you should cut his body into

inch bits yet would such an unfeeling spirit as his suffer nothing, and the display of cruelty would be wanton and not in accord with government by superior men of rightousness and benevolence. Everyone knows that I opposed Shigehide while alive, and as for these men I have never seen them and my argument is not for their sake, but for justice in punishment, the equalization of the past and present. And so it was that all were judged guilty of minor offences.

When the books of the Ginza artizans were examined it appeared that Shigehide had a profit of 260.000 *ryō* out of the debasing of the silver, besides pictures and ancient treasures; and that he gave 60.000 *ryō* to his follower Nagai Hanroku. Whereon, a great outcry arose against the latter but I argued again, "He was the servant and it was his duty to obey and so he got the money. If he is punished so must Shigehide's son suffer. But he has only 700 *koku* out of his father's 3700 and so is punished already. To again lay bare the father's thefts and again punish the innocent son is to heap hoar-frost on snow and is not the government of righteous and benevolent, superior men. The chief being unpunished we need not discuss the punishment of subordinates, and especially with crimes which are unconfessed. All should be ignored."

So further proceedings were stopped.

CHAPTER VI.

SOME QUESTIONS OF PRECEDENCE AND PRIVILEGE.

I was not invited to the ceremony on the third anniversary of the Shōgun's death but was told of it the following day. So when I met Zembō Asson I told him I should resign, since I had not been informed of this ceremony after being consulted about everything for years. I should be disgraced did I not resign for I should seem to cling to office.

He was astonished and said "What! I have not forgotten your words about the young Shōgun when his father died and just the other day the Shōgun's mother and grandmother said, 'Is Chikugo no Kami well? He was always consulted by the late Shōgun and we are safe when he is here.' If you resign I shall be blamed by them and by everyone. Do consider your purposes." But I replied, "Years ago I said, this ends my service, when my lord died. For three years I have held on that I might carry out his purpose, and reform the coinage and now that is done. He further wished me to look into the foreign trade at Nagasaki and I have made full preparations so that others can complete that work. Before my lord died I had decided to resign, and could I be induced to change my purpose I should not mention these details. But, as there would be hostile criticism were I wholly to withdraw, I will consult with you whenever you wish my advice on matters of great moment."

So Zembō Asson ceased to urge me, but asked me to postpone my resignation until after the reception of the Imperial messengers from Kyōto. In the interval I was

asked to a consultation over an important matter. Zembō Asson met me and said:—"I have told the elders of your purpose and of my failure to shake it, though I have tried earnestly since you were so deep in the confidence of the late Shōgun. They tell me to try again in their name and to insist upon the public injury your resignation will cause. You will greatly favor us all and and will benefit the nation by withdrawing your resignation."

"This is wholly unexpected" I said, "and I must consider my answer." So I went home and the next day sent this reply:—"My purpose was formed long ago and is not of this one thing. But I hesitate to set my opinion against the wishes of those who carry on the government and so withdraw my resignation." Zembō Asson told me that it was agreed to on the next day and said, "It is a great favor to the public and to me." He asked me to come again two days later, when I met the elders as they came from their audience with the Shōgun. Zembō Asson and Chūryō Asson presented me to them and when all were seated Zembō Asson said, "He has agreed to our request." Masanao Asson Tairō said, "You are not yet old. Take good care of your health, that you may long serve." The others said, "You must help us even though you are ill. Do not worry but take good care of your spirit." Kii-no-kami Nobutsune said, "It is long since we have met;" and Yamashiro-no-kami Tadazane Asson said, "It is our first meeting. I rejoice at the happy conclusion of this affair."

In the eleventh mouth we discussed the gift of land, of 50 *koku* in value, for the maintenance of ceremonies in honor of Nan-mei-in, wife of Ieyasu and younger sister

of Hideyoshi. It was a wish of the late Shōgun for the centenary of Iyeyasu.

When in the temple Tōfuku, Kyōto, I had seen the pictures of Ieyasu and of his wife. His picture is in other temples also but hers here only. As wife and sister her glory was great while she lived, but I wept as I found her picture in this little temple, left here without any offerings. The second Shōgun maintained ceremonies in her honor, for she was in the place of mother to him, and he commanded on his death bed, that land be given for their perpetual maintenance; but the priests chose 1000 *ryō* instead, for it was soon after the wars and temple lands often had been seized and given to *samurai*.

On my return to Edo I told the Shōgun and said, "Though Ieyasu had many children and they had many mothers, yet Nan-mei-in only was his wife. When peace was made between east and west, Hideyoshi gave his sister to be Ieyasu's wife and adopted Ieyasu's son. Still there was no meeting of the two until Hideyoshi sent his mother as hostage, and then when Ieyasu went to Kyōto he said to the men he left behind, "Whatever comes to me my wife knows nothing of it. Return her to her father." That shows the heart of Ieyasu. It was the decree of Heaven that saved him from injury but we cannot say his wife was without her influence. Her virtue served her own time and posterity; and, besides, she was the wife of the founder of the Empire. Why then is she forgotten save as a petty priest divides his scanty food for an offering?"

The Shōgun warmly assented but postponed the endowment until the centenary, lest reproach should be cast on

the neglect of former generations. He spoke about it when he died; and the gift was made at this time.

In the eleventh month (December 1714) came an embassy from Loo Choo with congratulations to the Shōgun and the announcement of the accession of their king. Formerly their communication had been in the Japanese language but recently they had used Chinese in their dispatches. They had also changed the style of the box for the dispatches As in foreign lands there is no Shōgun, their use of titles and forms was wrong. Zembō Asson spoke to me about it, and I sent them through Satsuma-no-Kami a list of terms they must not use. They sent an answer asking about various titles and I replied to their inquiries and added, "Tell the king to change the shape of his dispatches. The questions come from ignorance of our past customs and present usage. If they cannot use the Chinese properly let them use the Japanese again. But let them decide for themselves." And the ambassador replied, "We used the Chinese because of the late Shōgun's fondness for learning and wished to please him, but now we will return to the old custom." Satsuma no Kami acted as our representative.

I wished to meet the ambassador, and did so on the 18th of the 12th month in the Satsuma mansion, Satsuma-no-Kami and Yoshitaka Asson being present also. I wore a robe of peculiar make, a cap, my ordinary sword and a red fan which had been given me by the former regent.

In the eleventh month came a request from the priests of the Zōjō temple, that one of the buildings might be repaired and ceremonies performed there in connection with the centenary of Ieyasu. Their grounds for

this request were these:—we have a picture of Ieyasu painted by himself: we also have his hair and finger nails: moreover, until the death of the third Shōgun the temple was honored, but the fourth Shōgun did not visit it during his youth, and now from long neglect the grass grows thick about the place of prayer. Ieyasu and his family were of our sect the *Jōdoshū*, he was learned in its doctrines, we gave him a posthumous name and his obituary ceremonies from the fiftieth day, to the third year when he was taken to Nikkō were all here. The former Shōgun was also of our sect and desired that the ceremonies be here, and once more, the ceremonies for the fifth Shōgun are performed in our temple.

The Council of State consulted Zembō Asson and he came to me. I told him that the family was not originally of the *Jōdoshū* but only from the sixth ancestor of Ieyasu: that though the ceremonies of the fiftieth day were held at Zōjōji they were in private and without the usual gifts: that the ceremonies of the first and third anniversaries were not there at all, and that the request should be refused.

He agreed and asked me to put the answer in due form. So I wrote three questions asking proof for their assertions. They could not give it and said their journal had been burned. I clearly showed errors in their attempts at other proofs and in the end they gave it up.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FOREIGN TRADE.

The Council of State in the eleventh month (December 1714) discussed the new coinage, for it had been criticised when issued in the fifth month and disliked, prices rose daily and every one was troubled.

A merchant named Nojima Shinuemon proposed a plan for the exchange which was approved by the elders, and as the news got abroad folks expected an immediate change in the law, and exchange wholly ceased. When I heard of it I said, "It is as I expected and the men who for their own profit, impede this measure which is for the benefit of all, should be severely punished. But if the elders go on with their discussions the troubles also will continue. Zembō Asson said to me, "The men who understand the matter are all in Kyōto and if anything is done in their absence folks will say, "It is all Chikugo no-Kami's doing." I have sent to Kyōto for the men." But I replied, "From the beginning I have sought only the good of the Empire and care nothing for criticisms." So then he discussed the subject with the elders and sent men to Kyōto for consultation.

This was the merchant's plan :—The people of the sixty-six provinces, according to the census was 57,096,000, and since that count was made the number has increased an hundred-fold. Take 12 cents from each person to meet the expenses of the exchange and of the new pence. Then give 70 gold *ryō* of the new mintage with 120 *me* * of silver and 4 *kanmon* of copper for 100 gold *ryō* of the old coins.

* According to standard 50 *me* of silver (1 *me*=58 grains Troy) equalled 1 gold *ryō*. Our *kanmon* was 1000 cash.

With minor modifications all approved this, but I wrote showing the folly of it, and set down the outline of my paper here :—As to the poll tax. The census can be trusted in foreign lands but in Japan our records are incorrect. In the time of the emperor Kimmei the population was set down as being 4,969,890 and in the time of the emperor Seimu it had grown to 8,631,074, though this is not given in the history. In China in the dynasty, its most populous period, the 400 provinces had 59,594,978 inhabitants. What faith, then can we put in the statements of the census quoted? It is not intended seriously but is a mere exercise in arithmetic. It puts 20,000 persons on every hundred *koku* of land with 91,648 over! Let everyone judge where his neighborhood holds such a mass even after this century of peace. Can we take 12 cents for each person of a population an hundred times greater than the census names? If we allow 200 persons to each *koku* of land, we shall need one *kwamme* * 300 *mon* from each man if we are to exchange *ryō* for *ryō*. The rich are few, and the poor many, and how shall men find such a sum who are obliged to support parents, wife and children on 50 to 100 *mon* per day? Besides, all the pence in existence would not suffice, for we know how many have been made since Kanei (A.D. 1624-1643) and may add an equal number for older pieces. Then too, as in China also, old folks and children are exempt; and there are many wandering priests and merchants, nor do we even know how many persons are born each morning, nor how many die at night. How can we collect a poll

* 1 *kwamme* = 10 lbs. Troy. 100 *mon* was 58 grains Troy.

tax? Besides how unjust a law that disregards the difference between rich and poor! But if one new *ryō* be given for two old ones, the loss will fall on the rich and not on the poor, many of whom do not get a *ryō* piece in a year, and the poor are double in number the rich.

Look at the proposed ratio! We have gold enough for half the number of coins, where is the additional gold to be found so that we may give 70 *ryō* for an hundred. And silver is to be given too, but where shall we get it, as all extracted from the gold coins is to be re-minted? And the plan requires enough copper to use all the product of our mines for 294 years at least! Surely it is wholly impracticable. There must be another way."

Everyone was told to write his ideas, but no one had any and I did not need to write again. It was decided to punish all who had opposed the new law, and though the punishment was death it was mercifully lightened one degree, and they were banished to islands. When Nojima heard of his punishment he fainted! And Yamato-no-Kami Shigeyuki said, " How could so great an affair be entrusted to a man of so little spirit?

After this the exchange was carried on as at first.

During the winter we discussed plans for carrying out the will of the late Shōgun as to foreign trade. From his accession the copper supply had been too small, and the magistrates complained that trade ceased to the impoverishment of the people. The Ginza merchants were told to furnish the copper but could not, for the output diminished yearly and the price rose. They could not ulfill their contracts, and after two years it was takene ffrom them and given to merchants in Ōsaka, but ther

was not enough after the home needs were supplied, prices rose and holders would not sell.

So in Nagasaki the weaker folks traded secretly with the foreigners and the stronger went to sea and met the ships and traded there. The foreigners do not follow the established routes, but sail to and fro, athwart these wicked traders and barter with them. The foreigners land, get water, cut the nets of fishermen, take seawead from women and children without payment, drive off rescuers with swords and spears, and repel with guns armed boats. From the time of Genroku our treatment of the Chinese had been very mild and our folks had been forbidden to attack them, the magistrates' servants being beaten and dismissed if they drew their swords. So the foreigners became very overbearing.

Even Hollanders began to engage in this illicit trade, something never known before. The magistrates asked for more stringent laws and I remarked, "It is intolerable that these merchants should despise our land which we are taught excels all others in chivalry!"

In ancient times the number of ships and the amount of money allowed for this trade was unlimited, but from *Teiko* 2nd (A. D. 1685) gold 50,000 *ryō* was set as the limit of the Dutch trade and twice the amount, in silver for the Chinese trade. In 1688 the limit of Chinese ships was set at 70. Later on the amounts were increased, as certain merchants were permitted to use copper until the supply became too small and these evils followed."

The magistrates had no practicable advice to offer. Already in the late Shōgun's reign I had written up the subject in eight volumes, containing two hundred and

eleven points great and small, and refer all who are interested to my books.

Until *Keichō* 6 (A.D. 1601) foreign ships might come and trade anywhere, but that was the period of the great Ming dynasty in China, and their laws permitted only licensed boats to come. Only foreign ships of war then came to Nagasaki. The Dutch in *Keichō* 5 first went to Sakae near Ōsaka, but in *Keichō* 13 (A.D. 1611) their trade was transferred to Hirado, and two years later to Nagasaki. The Chinese trade was confined to Nagasaki in *Keichō* 13. The Chinese *emperor Kanghi* of the Tsing dynasty, removed the restrictions of foreign trade and more than two hundred boats came. After our restrictions were made, limiting the number of boats, all which came in excess were sent back, and each boat within the permitted limits was allowed to trade only to the amount of 160 *kwamme*, and all surplus freight was stored.

But as the ships came from a distance and large profits were desired, the Chinese wished to sell all their goods, and our merchants too were keen for this illicit traffic, as the restrictions on the legal trade were severe and the profits small.

In the late reign the Nagasaki magistrates were asked for statistics, and it appeared that one fourth of our gold and three fourths of our silver had been exported in an hundred years, and these reports did not include the trade of Tsushima with Korea, nor that of Satsuma with Loo Choo. So in another century half of our gold will have gone, and all of our silver, while our copper is already insufficient for our domestic needs.

It is not right to trade our lasting treasures for their

toys of an hour, nor to hurt the Empire for such pal profits. If we must have books and medicines fr abroad, estimate our annual production of the preci metals and our home consumption, and then determ how much may be permitted to the foreign trade Nagasaki, Tsushima and Satsuma. Without these d we cannot settle upon the amount. The number of bc and their lading must be limited, or we cannot stop ill trade. In this way the cargoes will be sold complet our laws will be obeyed, foreigners will cease to desp us, our authority will be extended a thousand miles ; our treasure will last forever.

It is only the poor in Nagasaki who are beggared the loss of trade, and the reason will appear if an vestigation is made, though it is unnecessary to set fc the origin of this guilt. Let magistrates be chosen, laws reformed and censors appointed for Nagasaki, well as for Kiōto and Ōsaka and both Nagasaki and the western and central provinces will be benefit This is only an outline of what was determined by late Shōgun. The law and the legal decisions were l the serpent of Jōsan, which saved head and tail, tail a head helping each other; not one of the many det should be changed or an addition made.

The law has not been enforced because the mercha wanted large trade, and the magistrates did not red the customs in proportion to the lessened number boats. In *Shōtoku* 5 (1715) February, messengers Edo arriving in Nagasaki in March, and the new la were promulgated in April, and later the Chinese w informed. Those of the Chinese who agreed to new laws were given licences and those who refused w

expelled. In June the laws were sent to the *daimyō* of the central and western provinces.

It had been thought easier to gain a livelihood and larger profits if the original prices were low, and that prices would be low if the importations of cloth and medicine were large. No one thought of the Empire and all argued like men who know neither the beginning nor the end, like men who in the morning do not think of the night. So lightly would they change the laws, being misled by this talk, and would let the evils continue. *

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ILLNESS OF THE SHŌGUN: HIS MARRIAGE ENGAGEMENT: PUNISHMENT FOR KILLING AN UNCLE: THE FIRE IN THE PRISON: KIDNAPPING CHILDREN.

In the early spring the Shōgun was ill, medicine did no good and new physicians were chosen. At two o'clock August 10 when returning home I met Yamashiro-no-Kami, and Tadazane Asson hastening to the castle, and my men told me Yamata-no-Kami Shigeuki Asson had also gone with a crowd of retainers. I wondered at it and as I went out of the gate heard that a bearer of Tadazane Asson had fallen from fatigue. I wondered

* The new law was written by Arai. It limited the number of Chinese boats to thirty and the Dutch boats to two: the copper to 1,500,900 pounds (one pound Japanese equals one and one-third pound avoirdupois) and the silver to 3,000 *kwamme* (one *kwamme* is ten lbs. Troy).

more and more, and the next day was told that we all must assemble at the office.

Kii-no-Kami, who had been left in charge, thinking the Shōgun's death imminent sent for the elders, and they summoned every one. That evening the elders discussed the succession and Zembō Asson then for the first time told them the late Shōgun's decision. The medicine however tock effect; but a month later Nobutsune Asson died of paralysis. So difficult are calculations about worldly things.

While the Shōgun was ill some of the men who had been favored by his father sought to ingratiate themselves with Kii-no-Kami. Oh! Who can be trusted? So too when Lord Kōfu was heir apparent did one of the ruling Shōgun's men seek his favor. But he gained nothing, as was right.

In the winter Bungo-no-Kami was to have gone to Kyōto to arrange the marriage of the daughter of the abdicated Emperor to the Shōgun. It would have been the first alliance between the families and most thankworthy. But it is now like an unfinished dream.

This year Nobutsune Asson sentenced a murderer of an uncle to a punishment one degree less than beheading, on the ground of a precedent in the late reign. Zembō Asson dissented and asked my opinion; and I could not agree that one who killed his uncle should be punished less severely than an ordinary murderer, nor could I find the alleged precedent.*

The last day of the year a fire started in the middle

* The slayer of a parent had his head sawn off and his wife and children killed; the slayer of an uncle had his head sawn off and his wife and children punished one degree less than death.

of the night in Tadanaga Asson's mansion and burned many houses, not being out until 10 a.m. New Year's day. The commingling of firemen and folks in their robes of ceremony, in the streets, was strange.

On the 11th was another fire and the prison burned. Many prisoners escaped, among them some whose trials were still unfinished though begun sixteen or more years before, until the accusations against them were forgotten, their friends were dead and they had nowhere to go.

The magistrates wanted to know what should be the punishment for the run-aways and Zembō Asson asked me. "According to their crimes, of course" I said. "It is an offence to run away and yet, such folks naturally seek even a day of freedom. But why have those persons whose guilt remains so long unproved been omitted from the list of pardoned prisoners? To punish severely now would be merciless, but to prevent such attempts in the future, decree that the punishment of those who run away shall be increased one degree, and that of those who do not flee the punishment shall be lightened one degree. Pardon this time those who are still unconvicted, and lighten the punishment of all who do not try to escape. Do not search for any uncondemned person who has escaped, for their flight was caused by the cruelty of the magistrates and is a disgrace to the government." But my advice was not followed.

It was decided to tie to a cross the decayed body of a man who had killed his lord seven or eight years previously, and had died in prison. His body had been preserved in salt. Such horrible lawless things call for no discussion.

From the spring of last year child stealing was much

talked about. This is the case as it was finally decided:—A chemist of Suidōchō named Seibei, of Ise province, hired two young boys, Saburobei and Tōbei, and the younger disappeared. In the spring the elder boy saw the lad in a beggar's house, and told his master who at once fetched his boy home again. Thereupon a *rōnin* named Yamada Masauemon appeared and claimed the boy, saying "He was entrusted to me six years ago by his father Dōsan of Kōshū. I made him servant to a doctor, but as he proved a worthless fellow I gave him to this beggar." Yamada was very angry and entered a complaint. Dōsan and the lad were examined and both died in prison before the trial ended. Then the question was, what shall be done to Yamada? and I advised that his punishment should be a degree less than death and he was sent to an island. For during the trial when Dōsan and the boy met, the boy did not know him and Dōsan cried, "What! Not know your father!" and struck him so that he fled; but when a man was brought from Ise the lad rushed to him, crying "Father!" and also knew the men who brought the father. The case was clear, but Yamada and Dōsan would not give in, and the stupid merciless officers would not decide but let the lad and Dōsan die causelessly in prison. After their death Yamada said "One hardly can say he was Dōsan's son, after so long a time!" We could not find what had become of Dōsan's son.

The two daughters of Kusuke of Funatsu village, province of Kii, were enticed away as follows. In *Shōtoku* 1 (1711) Dōju keeper of the Ōmiya inn, Shinagawa, Musashi province, gave Kibei, his servant, twenty gold *ryō* and sent him to buy some maid servants. Finally Kibei

came to Funatsu village and found an old couple with two daughters. They were very poor. Kibei told them his master would make them all comfortable if they would go with him. So they started. At Tōtōmi was a barrier which could be passed only by those who had passes, and the penalty for going without a permit was crucifixion. But the simple folks did not know of the barrier, and Kibei hired people of the neighborhood to lead them around it by mountain paths to Mitsuke where he rejoined them. Then he told the parents what he wished of the girls, but they refused to let them be servants in an inn. However, as they could not go home all went on to Shinagawa together. They arrived in the 11th month, but Dōju pretended to be very angry and drove them all out of his house, scolding Kibei for getting such young girls. Kibei was in great trouble. He wept and pleaded and at last was told, "Sell the girls to a brothel!" There was no other resource, so a procurer was called and the girls were sold to the New Yoshiwara for 150 gold *ryō*. The procurer was given 34 *ryō ni bu*, Kibei 7 *ryō*, the father 7 *ryō*, and Dōju kept the rest. The girls were said to be from Suruga.

The parents had nowhere to go and became the servants of their daughters' master, and there soon after, the mother died. All who heard of this terrible condition pitied the unfortunates, but the father was kept from making a complaint by the guilt incurred in stealing past the barriers. At last however, he went to Kii-no-Kami who referred him and his complaint to the magistrates. All concerned were examined and during the dilatory and unnecessary process the father died in prison. And the magistrates decided:—"The father's guilt was great

because, though he did not know of the barrier at fi
he did not confess as soon as he found out about
Let his head be cut off, sent to his native village a
exposed there: let the men who guided the party p
the barrier be beheaded or crucified: let the girls rem
with their master or be made servants and let the i
keeper be driven from Shinagawa or banished to an
land." But my decision was this:—

"The man should have complained at once when
learned of the barrier, but his error needed no sev
reproof, such a simple old man and so misled! The l
of *Genwa* 5, (A.D. 1619?) restores stolen folks to
lawful owner, how then can the girls remain with
brothel keeper? I need not discuss the plain guilt
the guides. The inn-keeper's offence comes under
law which decrees death to those who buy and sell m
Why lighten his punishment?' He deceived these peo
got them past the barrier, sold the girls to the Yos
wara and took the profits." So I decided and so it
done. The girls were sent home to Kii.

The magistrates left the case to their clerk and
latter were bribed by Dōju and the brothel keeper. W
is to be said when such officials have the awarding
punishments?

A request came in from Kyōto in the name of the
dicated emperor, that the Tōdai temple in Nara be perm
ted to collect funds throughout the empire for the rebui
ing of a portion of the edifice. Precedents were s
with the petition. Zembō Asson sent the petition to
expressing his dissent, but adding that he did not
how we could refuse an emperor and an ex-emper
But I criticized the precedents and showed why we n

not agree, arguing that the response would be small because of many extraordinary imposts on the provinces and that such a result would seem disrespectful to the Emperors. An answer was sent accordingly, and it appeared that it agreed with the wishes of the Kyōto rulers, but that they had yielded to the importunity of the Nara priests.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CHINESE TRADE: SOME CRIMINAL CASES.

Last year the new commercial laws were made, and this year the men from Canton and Fuken, who had licenses, came and traded ,but on one came from Nanking and Nimba. Later, one Ritoshi came from Fuien with this tale,—The Nanking and Nimbu men have been accused of plotting against the government and adopting a foreign "year-name" because the Japanese "year-name" is on their licences. The accusation came from men who failed to get licenses, and though the men protested their innocence their licenses were taken away. So they cannot come, but I went to Canton and sailed from that port. So far Ritoshi; and the Nagasaki magistrates wrote, "It looks as if the Chinese wish to break our laws and send boats as before, but we are not sure of the truth of this story and shall keep Ritoshi until others come."

When Zembō Asson asked my opinion I told him that there would be difficulty in enforcing the law. Even at home we had trouble in carrying out the laws about the

new currency, and it will take from three to five years to enforce this one completely as it effects foreign lands. The leading men said the regulations for the Korean embassy cannot be carried out, but they were as the Shōgun insisted. But now the Shōgun is a child and it is impossible to mark out a determined course of action."

Zembō Asson again consulted with the elders and I was called. On the 18th April (1716) Tadanaga Asson took me to the Council of State. First Kawachi-no-Kami, who was in charge of this business, and then each of the others expressed his opinion, as follows;—The laws follow the wishes of the late Shōgun but they will be in vain if this request from Nagasaki is agreed to. You were deep in the confidence of the late Shōgun and we are prepared to follow your advice. I replied,—

"As I told Zembō Asson, when the laws were made I anticipated trouble, and as I am ill and old, do not expect to live to see them completely enforced. But they can be enforced, if they are all insisted on and nothing changed."

Zembō Asson agreed, and after a while all agreed that this was the only possible course. Then being without excuse, I promised to attend to it, and wrote at once to the Nagasaki magistrate to the following effect;—"Under Heaven all evil is one, and as we will permit no one to come in violation of our laws, we will not admit Ritoshi, who confesses that he has violated the laws of his country by coming. Send him back at once."

The magistrates wrote that another man had come with a Chinese license, but when I saw it I said,—"It is not a license to trade in Japan for it does not conform

to ancient usage. Send this man home also." So both were expelled.

One morning a young *samurai* killed a robber on the bank of the Baniu river and was arrested by the neighbors and taken to the officials. On examination it appeared that he was a *samurai* named Sakai Jōhachi, 20 years old, and that he had fled from his lord, Tōtōmi-no-Kami and was travelling to Suruga. Between Totsuka and Fujisawa a big man joined him and, near the river, thrust his hand into Sakai's bosom to take his things, when Sakai killed him with one stroke of the sword. The officials praised the deed but put Sakai in prison for leaving his lord.

To me it seemed that thieves would take his imprisonent as a punishment for killing one of their number, and so would be emboldened and increase to the injury of travellers. So Zembō Asson sent for the minister of Tōtōmi-no-Kami, and asked him if the matter could not be arranged and said that it was a shame to punish a young man who had killed a robber. So the minister saw his lord and Sakai was declared innocent and released.

About the same time Yamato-no-Kami said to Noriyuki the younger brother of Zembō Asson, "Your directions to that merchant cannot be carried out." "What directions?" asked Noriyuki, and investigation showed that his name had been forged to an order permitting a merchant to coin gold, and that Noriyuki's wife was implicated. Some of the men concerned in this were crucified and others were banished. I said to Zembō Asson. "This comes from the prevalence of bribery and corruption, and that is why the merchants are full of

these schemes. It must all be stopped or we shall have these terrible scandals constantly." So Zembō Asson consulted with the elders and a law was issued. (Even I was offered 500 gold *ryō* last year by a priest in connection with the Nagasaki affair, and a further promise was made of 300 *ryō* annually to each of my sons if the desired plans were caried out. What then was probably offered to men of high official rank?)

A complaint was made against some men living on a plain between Ajiro village and Toguchi village, in Kambara township Echigo province. Funakoshi Saemon sent from Edo two constables who arrested a man, supposed to be a robber, named Gouemon and his five followers. The constable tried to hand over the band to the Ajiro authorities, but these would not take charge of them but declared the men not under their jurisdiction. The constables then went to Toguchi, only to be told that Gouemon was a tenant of the Shōgun. The constables accordingly went to Kaiya on the Shōgun's estates, but were again refused. The Shōgun's deputy was at Idzumozaki, twenty miles or more away and two hundred miles from Edo. A company of fourteen men or more was collected' including the constables, prisoners and men armed with swords and spears, and they started one day and arrived the evening of the next. Again custody of the prisoners was refused, and the constables were told the men should be imprisoned and tried where the crime was committed. By this time the constables' funds were exhausted, and they could not take the robbers to Edo without passports and so, after consultation the prisoners were set free and the constables returned, to Edo with their excuses. Saemon

sent the constables back again with instructions for the local officials.

At the end of the next month the father, son and one other man were taken, and given in charge at Toguchi and soon after the others were arrested, and all were brought to Edo.

Censors and magistrates made an investigation, and the olks of the villages were also examined and the results sent to Edo. There it was proposed to send men to the place, and have them discover to which village the robbers belonged. But I told Zembō Asson, "The examination only touches the leaves and branches of the case. The residence of the men was put on the plain between the villages, after consulting with the inhābitants of both in order that it might be under the jurisdiction of neither. The robber's testimony does not agree with that of the villagers. His place, by the map, is only three-fourths of an acre in extent and is separated from Taguchi by a grove of cedars which the Taguchi folks say is their boundary. But the boundary has been changed, evidently, since this land was occupied, to avoid trouble. But in any case the villages were wrong in refusing to take the prisoners. But the main point is different,—Are the men robbers?" With that the boundary investigation stopped.

The man's papers showed these facts:—He was born in Kaya village and was the son of a farmer. His father died when the boy was four years old, and he was cared for by the fourth brother of his mother, until his grandfather died. Then the lad was cast adrift and became a beggar. When thirteen he went back to his native place and found an employer. A year later he went to his

grandmother's and stayed four years. He married a widowed daughter-in-law of a neighboring farmer, and a son was born, the son now under arrest. But the woman's temper was unendurable and Gouemon could not stay in his father-in-law's house, but left wife and child and went to the Kanon temple in Yotsuya and rented land from the priests. He brought his son to his new home and took another wife from the Gosencho village. But he had trouble with the people of that village over some money he had loaned them, and when they threatened to kill him he took wife and child and finally obtained this land, twelve years ago, from these two villages, Aji and Taguchi.

He built a house and cultivated the land. The villages hired him to protect them against robbers, for he had been with robbers after leaving Yotsuya, and could obtain their promise not to molest the villages where he lived. He had arms too and gathered followers, wanderers like himself whom he cared for. They farmed by day and patrolled the villages by night. Gouemon became prosperous and had no reason for stealing.

The story the villagers told agreed with Gouemon's papers, and it appeared that he had been the guardian of fifteen villages, and that ten years before, when a thief robbed a temple Gouemon found him and recovered the property. Gouemon's followers too told of his kindness and the strict discipline of his household, not an article being admitted unless a clear account of it were given.

When asked,—"Why did you confess yourself guilty at first to Saemon?" Gouemon replied, "I could not endure the torture. There was no one to help me and I wished

for an immediate death. The villagers will testify to the truth of my statements if they are asked."

On inquiry at the places where the crimes were said to have been committed, it appeared that there had been no such crimes. Especially to the point was the testimony of the Mizoguchi deputy who said there had been no murders in that domain, and that he would have been informed had any been committed; and that the man Jirosaku of Tsukioku village who is said to have been murdered died of illness three years ago.

Gouemon's innocence was established. It appears that there were robbers and laws against them even in the time of the Sage Kings, though their government was just, kindness prevailed and naturally, man's heart was not inclined to theft. The vulgar proverb says, "Lice on the body, rats in the house and robbers in the state." Robbers will not cease to be, though so many are put to death that their bodies are as hills and their blood as rivers.

Gouemon has repented of his former misdeeds, and has kept robbers away from those fifteen villages for twelve years. He should not be put to death for former crimes, even if he committed them. That region has been full of robbers always, and if he is punished for his old offences, the people cannot sleep in peace at night. Besides, there are many persons who were once robbers but are now good subjects. If they are led to think they are to be punished, they will plan to live in luxury by any means, for at least a day. Such restraint of robbers makes robbers. The Great Learning says, "Make new the people:" the Analects teach, "Think not of old misdeeds:" the Book of Changes says, "The superior man

truly repents and reforms, the common man tries to save his honor. It is well to forsake sin and live in righteousness."

Let Gouemon be sent back home, restored to his position as guardian and let his place be put under the Mizoguchi jurisdiction. And do not condemn the folks of Ajiro, Taguchi and Kaihara. The two constables should be praised. Why have they been imprisoned at home for not bringing the prisoners the first time? It was not the officers' fault that their funds gave out and that they dismissed their prisoners. All were finally arrested and not a man eseaped."

On all these points the final decision followed my advice.

CHAPTER X.

THE VILLAGE WAR.

A statement came to the government, about the same time, from a village, Koremasa, some twenty five miles from Edo to this effect,—The folks from this village, to the number of 1400 or 1500 in the seventh month of last year went to Shimo-koganai village and created a disturbance, cutting down trees and bamboos and grain, and carrying all away. Three leaders were put in prison but escaped when the prison burned. Some of the others were deported.

I wondered that nothing had been known of so great an affair and ordered an investigation. It appeared there had been a quarrel between two villages over a common pasture for horses, and that on the sixth day of the

seventh month of last year, the Koremasa folk stirred up the people of the neighboring villages and attacked Shimo-Koganai with bows, swords, spears, conch shells and war cries. The inhabitants of Shimo-Koganai all fled and the invaders broke down a house, destroyed furniture and treasures, cut down the grove and trampled the crops.

It was reported to the deputy but his summons was disregarded. The next day there was another invasion, and trees were cut down and crops trampled as before. In all 57,700 trees besides bamboos were cut down, so that 20,000 men must have been present, allowing two or three trees to each man. In the Shimabara revolt only 30,000 men were engaged, and if so great an affair took place within twenty five miles, why has it been kept hidden until now by the magistrates? What were the magistrates thinking of, as the laws of the Shōgunate for generations have strictly forbidden combinations?

The deputy replied that he had reported to the finance magistrate for that month Ise-no-Kami, as the villages were on the Shōgun' domains: that many witnesses had been examined and that the offenders were so many that only the three leaders were deported, and that the case was settled on the 4th day of the eleventh month.

I asked if it was customary to decide such affairs without reporting them first; and the deputy replied, "The government is informed when the offenders are punished and not before." But the statements of the different officials did not agree, though all laid the blame on Ise-no-kami. When Zembō Asson asked, "What shall be done now?" the officials replied, "The degree of deportation cannot be changed." But we decided that in addition the men

who had escaped from prison should be recaptured, or if that were impossible that others should be punished in their stead, and that payment must be made for the damage wrought. Ise-no-Kami was imprisoned in his own house. Many lower officials were found guilty and removed from office.

Such matters are left to subordinates by the finance magistrates, and so causes are not settled for years to the great injury of the people. So I proposed a law requiring all cases to be reported to the Shōgun if not heard within an hundred days. It was enacted; but on the death of the Shōgun, Ise-no-Kami and the lower officials were all pardoned and the law was repealed, to the joy of officials and the grief of the people.

This year the Shōgun was ill from early spring, and medicine did not help him, he died at the monkey hour (four in the afternoon) the last day of the fourth month (19th June 1716). In accordance with my lord's words Lord Kii was called to the castle.

The Shōgun's death was announced on the morning of the first day of the fifth month. On the seventh the body was taken to the Zōjō temple. (It was the anniversary of the fall of Ōsaka castle. * Of all days why did it happen on this?) I had the same place as at the former obsequies.

On the twelfth day of the month I gave up my special apartment in the palace. Zembō, Tadanaga Asson and all the officials who had been in the confidential service of the late Shōgun resigned.

* The final victory of Ieyasu.

BASHO

AND

THE JAPANESE POETICAL EPIGRAM.

BASHŌ AND THE JAPANESE POETICAL EPIGRAM.

By Basil Hall Chamberlain.

(*Read 4th June, 1902.*)

I.

Japanese poems are short, as measured by European rds. But there exists an ultra-short variety con- of only seventeen syllables all told. The poets an have produced thousands of these microscopic sitions, which enjoy a great popularity, have been l, reprinted, commentated, quoted, copied, in fact ad a remarkable literary success. Their native name ku (also *Haiku* and *Haikai* *), which, in default etter equivalent, I venture to translate by "Epi- using that term, not in the modern sense of a l saying,—*un bon mot de deux rimes orné*, as a has it,—but in its earlier acceptation, as denoting ttle piece of verse that expresses a delicate or us thought. Before entering into historical details, be best to give a few examples, so as to make at once the sort of thing to which the student's n is invited. For a composition begun, continued, ded within the limits of seventeen syllables must

* See pp. 254 and 260-1 for an explanation of these terms. The Chinese rs serving to write them are 發句, 俳句, 俳諧.

evidently differ considerably from our ordinary notions of poetry, there being no room in so narrow a space for most of what we commonly look for in verse. Take the following as representative specimens:—

(1)

17 { 5 *Naga-naga to*
7 *Kawa hito-suji ya*
5 *Yuki no hara* *

A single river, stretching far
Across the moorland [swathed] in snow.

No assertion, you see, for the logical intellect, but a natural scene outlined in three strokes of the brush for the imagination or the memory. Just so in the next:—

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* For the sake of those unfamiliar with Japanese prosody, it should be stated that I. This language acknowledges no diphthongs:—what appear to be such in a Romanised transliteration are really two independent syllables. II. Final *n* always counts as a whole syllable. The reason is a historical one, namely, that this final *n* generally represents the syllable *mu* in the archaic language, which tolerated no final consonants whatever. Thus the word *aruran*, "probably is," counts as four syllables, and actually sounds so to Japanese ears. The *m* in such words as *ambai, amma*, comes under the same rubric. III. To a similar cause must be ascribed the fact that syllables containing long vowels count double:—they all result from the crasis of two original short syllables, as *kōri*, "ice," from *ko-ho-ri*. Some Chinese words with long vowels are written with three *Kana* letters, for instance 長 *chō*, "long," as *chi-ya-u* チヤウ. As the classical poets admit no Chinese vocables, such cases do not present themselves in their compositions. The epigrammatists count all long syllables as equivalent to two short ones, irrespective of derivation and spelling, following in this the modern pronunciation. IV. Such combinations as *kwa, gwa, shu, cha*, etc., though written with two *Kana* letters, are also treated by the epigrammatists as monosyllables, because so pronounced.

Applying the above rules, it will be seen that such a verse as No. 3 is perfectly regular in its prosody, because the long syllable *yū* of *yūdachi* counts double. So is the following, where a novice might find it more difficult to make the count:—

(3)

17 { 5 *Suzushisa yo*
7 *Yūdachi nagara*
5 *Iru hi-kage*

How cool the air! and through a shower
The radiance of the setting sun.

(4)

17 { 5 *Hito-ha chiru*
7 *Totsu hito-ha chiru*
5 *Kaze no ue*

A leaf whirls down whirls down, alackaday!
A leaf whirls down upon the breeze.

This last requires a word of explanation. It is not meant to call up any actual scene:—it is metaphorical. The Japanese poets were in the habit of composing some lines when taking leave of life,—a death-song in fact. The tiny composition here quoted—itself a little leaf fallen two centuries ago—was the death-song of one of the most famous of epigrammatists. The words intimate his regret at parting from life, whirled down like an autumn leaf upon the breeze, to perish utterly and pass out of remembrance.

These specimens may serve to show the general character of the Japanese epigram. It is the tiniest of vignettes, a sketch in barest outline, the suggestion,

(2)

17 { 5 *Gwanjitsu ya*
7 *Kinō no oni ga*
5 *Rei ni kuru*

On New Year's day, yesterday's dun
Comes to present his compliments.

On the other hand, No. 17 (*inf.* p. 265) has a redundant syllable,—viz., in the second line instead of 7, because the *nō* of *mōshi-aguru* counts as two. Such cases of imperfect prosody are, as will be noticed later on, by no means uncommon.

not the description, of a scene or a circumstance. It is a little dab of colour thrown upon a canvas one inch square, where the spectator is left to guess at the picture as best he may. Often it reminds us less of an actual picture than of the title or legend attached to a picture. Such a verse, for instance, as

(5)

Ura-kaze ya
Tomoc wo kuzusu
Mura-chidori

A troop of sea-gulls, and a gust
Off shore that breaks their whirling flight.

—might it not, without the alteration of a single word, serve as the title of one or more of the water-colour sketches shown at any of our modern exhibitions? Or take this one by Bashō, the greatest of all Japanese epigrammatists;—

(6)

Magusa ou
Hito wo shiori no
Natsu-no kana

Over the summer moor,—our guide
One shouldering fodder for his horse.

Here anyone familiar with Japanese scenery sees mirrored the lush-green landscape, the sloping moor with its giant grass man-high, that obliterates all trace of the narrow winter pathway, while the bundle on some peasant's shoulder alone emerges far off on the skyline, and shows the wayfarers in which direction to turn their steps. Across a distance of ten thousand miles and an interval of two centuries, the spirit of the seventeenth century Japanese poet is identical with that which

nforms the work of the Western water-colourist of o-day. It is intensely modern, or at least imbued to the ıll with that love and knowledge of nature which we re accustomed to consider characteristic of modern times. lore rarely figures take the chief place, as when Bashō ives us the following

(7)

Chimaki yuu
Kata-de ni hasamu
Hitai-gami

She wraps up rice-cakes, while one hand
Restrains the hair upon her brow.

A picture this of a rustic maiden at some village fair, ttending to her business of selling cakes and lollipops o the holiday-makers, and at the same time not in- ttentive to her personal appearance. Or take an instance rom a higher walk in life, from the Samurai caste of eudal days:—

(8)

Gwanjitsu ya
Ie ni yuzuri no
Tachi hakan

'Tis New Year's day:—I'll gird me on
My sword, the heirloom of my house.

This, to be sure, is but a single touch, a mere indica- ion. Nevertheless, as the leading thought, the key- ıote, so to say, of the subject is struck—for was not the word called "the living soul of the Samurai?"—it ıractically suggests the whole picture. Without any ver- ıose addition, there rises up before us the image of the varrior in his stiff-starched robes, ready for elaborate eudal ceremonies, for war, or for *harakiri*.

All the specimens hitherto quoted are on subjects commonly called "poetical." But the Japanese epigrammatists by no means confine themselves to such. They turn willingly to the homeliest themes. One of them tells us how cold he was in bed last night:—

(9)

Samukereba
Nerarezu neneba
Nao samushi

So cold I cannot sleep; and as
I cannot sleep, I'm colder still.

Another exclaims

(10)

Yobi-kaesu
Funa-uri mienu
Arare kana

The fishmonger,—oh! call him back!
But he has vanished in the hail.

It is as if a window-pane had been thrown open, and instantly shut again. We have barely time to catch a passing glimpse of the circumstance hinted at.

A third grumbles, for that "the rainy season of June has turned his razor rusty in a single night," while a poetess, complaining of that same source of trouble, so familiar to us residents in Japan, declares that her "embroidered gown is spotted before it has even once been worn." The washing, the yearly house-cleaning, Christmas (or rather December) bills, even chilblains (!), come under the epigrammatist's ken. In fact, nothing is too trivial or too vulgar for him. Many epigrams have to do with packhorses, inns, and miscellaneous incidents of travel. Some contain historical allusions, or allusions to literature.

Some are "epigrams" in the exact etymological sense of the term, being inscriptions on pictures, fans, etc. Hardly any deal with love, which is surprising, as love takes high rank among the favourite themes in the other subdivisions of Japanese poetry.

II.

So much by way of preface and orientation. The Japanese epigram has had a long and curious history. When at its zenith, it allied itself with a system of ethical teaching; yet its origin can be traced to a paltry game. The thing merits investigation.

We find, then, that at the earliest period of which trustworthy information has survived,—say, the sixth century of the Christian era, *—Japanese verse already consisted of the same extremely simple elements as characterise it at the present day. So simple and scanty, indeed, are these elements that one almost hesitates to employ the term "prosody" in discussing them. Neither rhyme, quantity, nor accentual stress was regarded, but a mere counting of syllables, eked out in some degree by adhesion to a traditional phraseology, more particularly to certain stock-

* The "*Kojiki*," which is the earliest surviving work of Japanese literature, dates only from A. D. 712. But its historical notices begin to be credible when dealing with events of the fifth century, and some of the poems preserved in it may, with a fair degree of probability, be attributed to the sixth century, if not earlier. For a discussion of the whole subject of the credibility of early Japanese history, see the Introduction to the Translation of the "*Kojiki*," in the Supplement to Vol. X. of these "Transactions;" also a paper by Mr. Aston in Vol. XVI.

epithets (the so-called "pillow-words" *). The style was naive in the extreme, and expressed the naïve sentiments of a primitive people, to whom writing was unknown or at least unfamiliar, and literature not yet thought of as an art. All poems were brief, few extending beyond forty or fifty lines, most to less than half that number. The rule determining their construction was that lines of five syllables and seven syllables must alternate, with an extra line of seven syllables at the end, to mark the completion of the poem. But even this simple rule was often violated, especially in early times, for no apparent reason unless it were want of skill. Frequently the impression left on the ear is that of an almost total absence of metre. Anyhow, the normal form of the Japanese poem became fixed at 5, 7, 5, 7, 5, 7, ... 7, the number of lines being thus always odd. From the beginning, there had been an inclination to prefer poems of five lines to those of any larger number. Thus the *Tanka*, or "Short Ode," as it is termed, of 5, 7, 5, 7, 7—or 31 syllables in all—was established as the favourite vehicle of poetry. It never was what we term a "stanza:"—no Japanese poet ever employed it as the material out of which to build up longer poems by adding verse to verse, such composite versification never having approved itself to the simple native taste. When anything longer than thirty-one syllables was wanted, an indefinite series of 5, 7, 5, 7 lines, with one of 7 at the end, was resorted to, as already indicated.

An impulse towards such more ambitious efforts was given in the seventh century, by the sudden advance of civilisation at that period under Chinese and Indian in-

* For details of the pillow-words, see Vol. V., Pt. I. of these "Transactions."

ience. The quickening of the national intellect through e advent of a new religion, the remodelling of the govern-ent, the introduction of innumerable new customs, wants, d industries, the general diffusion of the art of writing, d the study of Chinese literature, ended by invigorating en poetry. The years between, say, A.D. 700 and 760, ien the first anthology—the well-known "*Man-yōshū*"—is compiled by Imperial order, witnessed a veritable out-rst of song. There were ballads, love-poems, elegies, scriptive poems, mythological poems that sometimes rise nost into majesty of expression, occasional poems of rious import evidently inspired by genuine sentiment. ie foreign influence does not make itself obtrusively t; it informed, without violently warping, the native ste. What it contributed to the technique of verse was iefly a knowledge of that system of "parallelism" which as the rule in Chinese, and which the Japanese poets ow adopted as an occasional ornament. Some of these mpositions of the golden age ran into as many as 50,), or 100 lines. Generally, however, a thirty-one syllable erse on the same subject was appended, showing how iriously tenacious the Japanese taste was of that diminu-ve form. Specimens translated literally, both of the nger poems and of the short ones tagged on to them, ill be found in Mr. Aston's "Grammar of the Japanese Written Language" and in his "History of Japanese Literature." A contemporary critic might well have nought that the poetical literature of Japan was marching owards a great future.

Unfortunately, such was not the case. The wider in-piration died out within a single life-time. The next ime that an Imperial anthology was called for (the "*Kokin-*

shū," published A.D. 905), only five poems out of a total of over 1,100 attained to any length, and even these few are universally allowed to lack merit of any kind. All the rest were diminutive pieces each of thirty-one syllables only, and this continued ever after to be the classical form of verse. Very dainty some of these little verses are; for here again Chinese influence had been active, and had introduced numerous themes hitherto unthought of, besides suggesting a far more skilful use of language. The snow, the moon, the plum-blossom, even the cherry-blosson which is nowadays considered the national flower *par excellence*, the autumn leaves,—in fact well-nigh all the subjects that have ever since formed the commonplaces of Japanese verse, are Chinese importations of the ninth and tenth centuries. That the native prosody should have survived unchanged under these circumstances, may appear odd. The cause is doubtless to be sought in the profoundly divergent phonetic structure of the two languages, which made the adoption of Chinese metres and rhythms physically impossible. Here is a couple of representative specimens of the thirty-one syllable stanza, as turned out by innumerable poets from the ninth century down to our own day:—

Fuyu nagara
Sora yori hana no
Chiri-kuru wa—
Kumo no anata wa
Haru ni ya aruran

When from the skies that winter shrouds
The blossoms flutter round my head,
Surely the spring its light must shed
On lands that lie beyond the clouds.*

* The "blossoms" are of course the snow-flakes, which, by a graceful Chinese conceit, are likened to the white petals of the cherry-flower.

Hana mo mitsu
Hototogisu wo mo
Kiki-hatetsu—
Kono yo nochi no yo
Omou koto nashi

I've seen the flowers bloom and fade,
I have heard out the cuckoo's note:—
Neither in this world is there ought
Nor in the next to make me sad.

That is, the poet—a true Epicurean—has drunk to the full the cup of life, and has no fears for the life to come.

A somewhat free translation must be excused, as our English rhymed stanza is not easy to manage. Yet I hold to it, as fairly representative of the Japanese original, with which it agrees in length within one syllable (32 instead of 31), and also because, when halved, it will serve better than aught else to render the epigram. * In the case of the epigrams, which are far easier to translate, all the versions given in this paper are literal,—as literal, that is, as the disparity between English and Japanese idiom

* The whole question as to the best equivalents for alien metres is a notoriously difficult one. Some ingenious reader may point out that the Japanese epigram has exactly the same number of syllables (17) as the hexameter, when the latter runs to its full length of five dactyls. Nevertheless, I should not select that form as an equivalent in the present case, partly because the hexameter always sounds exotic in English, whereas the Japanese measure to be represented is nothing if not popular and familiar; but still more because the Greek or Latin hexameter possesses a grand resonance, and is in itself a complete unit perfectly rounded off, whereas the form of the Japanese epigram is essentially fragmentary, as will be explained later on. The somewhat jogging form which I have chosen, with its elementary metre and its suggestion of fragmentariness, appears to me to suit the case better.

will allow. But in the specimen thirty-one syllable ode here quoted it is rather to the form that I would invite attention than to the matter, because in this particular form the epigram had its origin. It will be noticed that a dash has been placed after the third line of the Japanese original. This is because the voice always pauses in that place, after what is termed the "upper hemistich" (Jap. *Kami no ku*, also *Hokku*, lit. "initial hemistich"), consisting of 17 syllables. The "lower hemistich" (*Shimo no ku* or *Ageku*,* lit. "raising" that is "finishing hemistich") consists of 14 syllables. The slight pause made between them for rhythmical purposes causes each to be recognised as a semi-independent entity, even when the sense flows on without interruption. This fact had an important result in what came after.

And now the Chinese influence, which so far had acted for good, took a baneful turn, introducing conventionality and frivolity. Poets—shall we rather say poetasters?—were no longer to draw their inspiration from their own hearts, and from the incidents of their lives:—they were encouraged to write to order. The social state of Japan at that period fostered the evil. There could be no popular or national literature; for the mass of the nation still lay beyond the pale of the only literary influence then known,—an alien one. The cultivation of letters was accordingly almost confined to Court circles, a Court itself bereft of political power, and where life had sunk into an effeminate round of ceremonies and diversions alike puerile and tiresome. Poetical tournaments (*uta-awase*) became a favourite pastime. In imitation of Chinese usage, themes

* The Colloquial expression *ageku no hate ni*, "the end of it all," comes from this, being literally "at the end of the hemistich."

were set, courtiers' wits were sharpened against each other, and prizes were adjudged. We even hear of gold dust and of landed estates being bestowed on successful competitors; but real poetry had ceased to live.

The next step was the introduction, at these poetry tournaments, of a Chinese game resembling our "capping verses." At first, in the ninth and tenth centuries, the lords and ladies of Kyōto composed Chinese verses as nearly as possible after the mode prevalent at the Court of Nanking, on rhymes officially given out, and according to the intricate rules of Chinese prosody. But when, in the eleventh century, their first pro-Chinese ardour had cooled, and the task of writing in a foreign tongue was felt to be too irksome, they fell back on the traditional native stanza of thirty-one syllables. The game, then, in this stage, consisted in either fitting on a first hemistich to a second, or a second to a first. This was termed *Renga*, lit. "linked verses." Sometimes, supposing a second hemistich to have been given, ingenuity was exercised by the composition of more than one suitable first hemistich, whose merits would be discussed, and the palm awarded to the best by an umpire. The independence of each hemistich thus became accentuated; and if the second and less important half were to fall off, the *Hokku* or first hemistich would remain as an independent entity. This is what did in fact happen, and the form of the epigram was thus determined.

Things, however, did not at first move in that direction. For a long time—three or four centuries—the tendency was the other way; and here comes in the most curious part of the story. Instead of producing an ultra-short variety of verse, the new game seemed more likely to lead to a long and intricate variety. It would certainly

have done so, had not the bent of the Japanese mind been too decidedly towards the small, the sketchy, no less in poetry than in painting and carving. The "linked verses," which, down at least to the year 1124, had consisted of two members only,—one upper and one lower hemistich,—were extended to a larger number, in imitation of Chinese models. This change had taken place by the beginning of the thirteenth century; and as the Far-Eastern mind habitually submitted all matters—even the most trivial—to rigid rule, a code was drawn up for the guidance of verse-cappers. This code appeared in several recensions, of which the first dates from A. D. 1087, the latest from 1501. According to it, the length of a set of "linked verses" was extended to 8, to 50, and ultimately to 100 hemistichs, and a certain order was prescribed for the succession of subjects treated in each set. Thus, if the *Hokku* ("initial hemistich") spoke of the spring with special reference to January, the second hemistich must also refer to January, and end with a full stop. The third hemistich must introduce some idea appropriate, not to January only, but to the whole season of spring, and must end with the particle *te*, which roughly corresponds to our English participles in *ed* or *ing*; but should the second hemistich have included a *te*, then one of the particles *ni* or *ran*, or the phrase *mo nashi*, must be preferred. The fourth hemistich is a "miscellaneous" one, that is, no mention must be made in it of any of the four seasons. It should end with some such easy, graceful verbal termination as *nari* or *keri*. No. 5 is called the "Fixed Seat of the Moon," because here the moon must in any case be made mention of; and this and Nos. 6 and 7 are termed the "Three Autumn Hemistichs,—for the moon, which introduces

these three, is the special property of autumn. All the hemistichs down to No. 6 inclusive are termed the "Initial Obverse" (*Sho-omote*), because always written on one side of the same sheet of paper; and (according to one authority at least) such subjects as religion, love, the shortness of life, and the expression of personal sentiments are forbidden therein. Hemistichs 7 to 12 (in some cases 7 to 14) are the "Initial Reverse" or "Reverse Corner" (*Sho-ura* or *Ura-kado*). No. 7, as already indicated, forms one of the three Autumn Hemistichs; but in No. 8 and those that follow, the choice of subjects is left free. The final hemistich (*Ageku*), however, must return to the subject of No. 1. The rules vary somewhat, according to the total number of hemistichs gathered together into a set. For instance, in one variety of 36, whose name and number are derived from the Six-and-Thirty Poetical Geniuses of mediæval literature, there is a division into two sets of 18 each; and the first of these is subdivided into an Obverse of 6 and a Reverse of 12 hemistichs, while in the second subdivision, technically termed the "Leave-taking," the order is exactly contrary, the Obverse having 12 and the Reverse 6 hemistichs, while the "Fixed Places" for the mention of the moon and of the flowers are also exactly contrary, being respectively 5 and 11 in the one, and 11 and 5 in the other. I have here given only three or four of the technical terms with which the subject bristles, and will not claim your attention for the elaborate rules regarding the collocation of subjects and the choice of words. Their minuteness almost passes belief, as when, for instance, it is ordained that the word *ikaga*, "how?" may not be repeated except at an interval of three hemistichs, nor the word *bakari*, "about," save at an interval of seven hemistichs; *hototogisu*, "cuckoo," only

once in a set of 100, but *nobe*, "moorland," and *matsu koi*, "love kept waiting," twice. Additional rules provide for the preferential use of homonyms,—for instance, *ka* 香, "fragrance," instead of *ka* 蚊, "mosquito;" for anagrams of proper names, for alphabetical sequence in the order of the *Kana* syllabary,—all this in certain fixed places,—as also for the insertion of words upside down, as *mitsu*, "three," for *tsumi*, "sin," and for the introduction, not of actual words themselves, but of certain others with which they may form grammatical compounds. At this point even the Japanese commentator breaks down, confessing that the intricacies of the subject begin to baffle him. In fact, he ventures so far as mildly to suggest that "these rules, being too mechanical, must have interfered to some extent with the poetical value of the pieces composed."(!) Easier of comprehension is the classification of all the items allowed to be mentioned under the caption of each month. Thus, under January we find New Year's day, the New Year sky, certain rice-cakes, a particular kind of wine, ferns, the straw and other emblems used in New Year decorations, various ceremonies, lotteries, gifts, the seven herbs of spring, the plum-blossom, the willow, etc. We also understand without difficulty, though perhaps with wonderment, that an elaborate set of rules prescribed the method to be followed in transcribing each set of poems on paper, as some of the pages were to have more written on them, some less. The paper itself, too, had to be folded in a peculiar manner, and the various pages possessed technical names, as already hinted at above.

All this is puerile enough. How far more absurd will it not appear, when closer scrutiny reveals the fact that the total of 36, 44, 50, 88, or 100 hemistichs thus tacked

on to each other by unalterable rule gave no continuous sense! In the Chinese models the sense ran on continuously. But either these models were misunderstood, owing to their being read in anthologies which gave only "elegant extracts" of the chief "beauties," or else the Japanese stanza—or perhaps we should rather say the Japanese mind of that age—obstinately refused to lend itself to any but the shortest flights. To be sure, the work was done, or rather the game was played, under circumstances which would have cramped more soaring intellects. Notwithstanding the dominion of Chinese precedents over Japanese literature, which has already been commented on, a rule handed down from time immemorial forbade the use in poetry of any but purely native words. Thus, more than half the vocabulary was excluded; for half the vocabulary was Chinese, and these Chinese words comprised many of those in most familiar use, besides most of the terms denoting delicate shades of meaning. Their exclusion at once limited the scope of poetical expression, helped to make it artificial, and divorced it ever more and more from real life.

In serious poetry the ban placed on all foreign terms proved too strong to break, and has remained in force down to the present day. The result was that this serious poetry soon became fossilised in mannerism and vain repetitions. But even at Court,—solemn as the Court of Kyōto was,—a revulsion took place. As early as A.D. 905, we find the compilers of the "*Kokin-shū*" admitting to a corner of their anthology a small set of stanzas of more or less comic import, or characterised by conceits which overstepped the limits set by the rules of serious poetry. Such comic stanzas were termed *Haikai*, and the

taste for them gradually spread. The subjects might b[illegible] be taken from common life; and common words—Chinese n[illegible] no less than native—were admitted into their vocabulary,[illegible] an innovation of far-reaching effect, for it gave free scop[illegible]pe alike to the mind and the tongue, which had hitherto bee[illegible]n bound in mediæval fetters. After some time, it becan[illegible]ne fashionable to compose "linked verses" in the new com[illegible]ic or colloquial style, which accordingly received the nan[illegible]e of *Haikai no Renga*, that is, "comic linked verses." Th[illegible]e first extensive collection of these was made by one Yam[illegible]a-zaki Sōkan, an ex-Samurai who turned Buddhist priest,[illegible]a priest, apparently, of the jovial sort, as he forsook th[illegible]e world less to practise devotion than to be rid of the worri[illegible]s of feudal service. He lived from 1465 to 1553, and [illegible]s commonly regarded as the father of the Japanese epigra[illegible], although another poet-priest, Sōgi Hōshi (1421-1502) w[illegible]s his elder by more than forty years. A noticeable featu[illegible]e of this period was the downward spread of the taste f[illegible]r this class of poetry into the inferior ranks of society.

Although the custom long persisted—indeed it is n[illegible]t quite dead even in our own day—of linking verses togeth[illegible]r according to the elaborate and puerile rules mention[illegible]d above, the *Hokku*, or "initial hemistich," had gradua[illegible]ly come to be considered more important than all those th[illegible]at were tagged on to it. Its composition was habitually e[illegible]n-trusted to the most skilful of the poets present at a [illegible]y poetry meeting, it was repeated from mouth to mouth wh[illegible]n the others were forgotten, and many anthologies we[illegible]re devoted to it alone. Thus did it happen that though t[illegible]he word *Hokku* properly means "initial stanza," and *Hai[illegible]ai no Renga* properly means "comic linked verses," t[illegible]ie two terms *Hokku* and *Haikai* have practically run togeth[illegible]er

nto one signification. They, as well as *Haiku* (which is cross between the two), indifferently denote what we ıave ventured to term the Japanese "epigram." This pigram may be defined as a half-stanza originally of a omic, or at least a colloquial cast, which in time came o be composed in all moods,—grave as well as jocular, sthetic as well as trivial, classical as well as colloquial. Its permanently distinctive characteristics are two in num- ber :—firstly, it is quite free in its choice whether of subject or of diction; secondly, it is essentially fragmentary, the fact that it is part only of a complete stanza, and that it is consequently not expected to do more than adumbrate the thought in the writer's mind, having never been lost sight of. All through its history, inditers of epigrams have devoted no small portion of their time to furbishing up the missing second halves of their staves. A second stave is always there *in posse* if not *in esse*,—a fact important to the would-be translator, because it shows him that in selecting a form for his versions, he should prefer one which is calculated to produce on the English ear the impression of fragmentariness. If he omits to notice this, he will fail in his chief duty,—that of rendering in some sort the movement of the original. The same consideration explains why the grammar of this style of verse is apt to be elliptical to the verge of obscurity,—past that verge indeed, —so that great numbers of verses are unintelligible as they stand. They are not (technically speaking) meant to stand so; it is assumed that something ought to follow. Accordingly, the reader is constantly called upon to supply, not only missing verbs and particles, but whole clauses. The Japanese themselves often grope vainly in the obscurity thus caused, as the attempted explanations of the

commentators amusingly testify. Little wonder, then, that the foreign student will be apt to find fully half, perhaps three-quarters, of the epigrams submitted to his notice enigmatical. Take this, for instance,

(11)

Hatsu-yuki ya
Are mo hito no ko
Taru-hiroi

lit. First snow, aye! that too a child of man, picker-up of barrels.

Such a collocation of words sounds to us like absolute nonsense. But it is not nonsense; it is only sense over-condensed. The meaning is: "That poor boy, walking along the streets picking up cast-off barrels in the first winter snow,—he, too, and others like him, miserable though be their lot, yet count among the sons of men, and as such deserve our pity." The signification is clear to the Japanese without periphrasis or comment, because they are habituated to such elliptical modes of expression. In fact, this verse has passed into a proverb. Or again,

(12)

Yo no naka wa
Mikka minu ma no
Sakura kana

lit. As for the world, oh! cherry unseen during three days.

This, too, is proverbial, being equivalent to some such saying of ours as "The fashion of this world passeth away." Interpreted more closely, the exact sense conveyed is that "The world changes as rapidly as does a cherry-tree which one should not have visited for the space of three days. He saw it in full bloom; meantime the wind has blown, and left not a single blossom on the branches."

, too, Japanese readers would require no explanation. are, however, numerous cases in which the process lensation has been carried so far as to baffle even nem. This happens chiefly when the epigram refers to some particular circumstance or event, which has been forgotten. No ordinary educated Japanese would understand the following without explanation :—

(13)

Hirosawa ya
Hito-shigururu
Numatarō

Hirosawa must probably, says the commentator, be explained as the name of a place,—a large mere in the neighbourhood of Kyōto; the grammar and metre of the second line are both shaky ; and the last word *Numatarō* has, it would seem, been coined as an equivalent for *hishi-kui*, a kind of wild-goose, which is here personified as the eldest son (*Tarō*) of the marsh (*numa*). Thus we arrive at some such sense as

"A wild-goose alone in a shower at Hirosawa"

which result, to say the least, sounds unattractive and uncomfortable. The impression which the author meant to convey—an impression of grey solitude and dreariness—could have been conveyed with far greater effect in intelligible language,—has in fact been so conveyed by other epigrammatists over and over again, for instance in these closely parallel lines :—

(14)

Mozu no iru
No-naka no kui yo
Kaminazuki

Lit. "Oh! the post in the midst of the moor, on which a butcher-bird perches,—November!"

that is,

"November, with a butcher-bird
Perched on a post on th' open moor"

a graphic suggestion, truly, of a dreary autumn scene.

The legitimate use of condensation—legitimate because of the vivid effect produced—is well-exemplified in the following verse by the poetess Chiyo, which ranks among the most famous productions of this Lilliputian literary form :—

(15)

Asagao ni
Tsurube torarete
Morai-mizu

Lit. Having had well-bucket taken away by convolvuli,—gift-water!

The meaning is this :—Chiyo, having gone to her well one morning to draw water, found that some tendrils of the convolvulus had twined themselves around the rope. As a poetess and a woman of taste, she could not bring herself to disturb the dainty blossoms. So, leaving her own well to the convolvuli, she went and begged water of a neighbour, —a pretty little vignette, surely, and expressed in five words.

But to return to the historical sketch of our subject, which was interrupted by the need for explanation and comment. It was mentioned a page or two back that the first collectors of "epigrams," as distinguished from the "linked verses" of which these same epigrams were originally but fragments, was Yamazaki Sōkan, a Buddhist priest whose long life extended from A. D. 1465 to 1553. Great numbers of priests belonging to the Zen sect of Buddhism devoted themselves at this period, and for a couple of centuries more, to the art of versification and to esthetics generally.

Some few Shintoists did likewise. A Shintō priest of the Sun-Goddess's temple at Ise, named Arakida Moritake (1472–1549), a contemporary of the just-named father of epigrammatic poetry, specially distinguished himself; but his compositions, and indeed all those of this early age, retained a strong comic tinge. The composers themselves, despite their ecclesiastical character, were much given to eccentric frolics, and to all the *sans-gêne* of a semi-Bohemian life. To their honour be it added that, while fun counted in their eyes for a great deal, money counted for nothing at all. Yamazaki Sōkan is said to have lived on ten cash a day, and to have had no other furniture in his cell than a single kettle. The prettiest of his verses that has survived is the following, which is worthy of the later, classic age :—

(16)

Koe nakuba
Sagi koso yuki no
Hito-tsuranc

But for its voice, the heron were
A line of snow, and nothing more.

How often has not this subject been treated by the Japanese painter, as a delicate symphony in white! But, as already remarked, almost all his compositions verge on the comic, for instance this one, comparing, not inaptly, the posture of the frog to that which a Japanese assumes when squatting respectfully, with his hands stretched out on the mats to address a superior :—

(17)

Te wo tsuite
Uta mōshi-aguru *
Kawazu kana

* Note the polite word *mōshi-aguru*, used in addressing a superior.

Oh! the frog, with its hands on the floor, lifting up [its voice in] song!

Puns were much sought after, as in

(18)

Yo ni furu wa
Sara ni shigure no
Yadori kana

where *furu* has a double signification:—firstly, construed with *yo*, it means "dwelling in the world," while secondly construed with *shigure*, it means "a shower falling," so that the entire sense meant to be conveyed—though the actual words merely adumbrate it—is that "Man's sojourn in this world is as transitory as a shelter to which one may betake oneself during a shower." But to cap verses cleverly was still the poet's chief aim. Some one having proposed as second hemistich the lines

Kiritaku mo ari
Kiritaku mo nashi

I want to kill him, and [at the same time] I don't want to kill him,—

Yamazaki Sōkan immediately added the first hemistich

(19)

Nusubito wo
Toracte mireba
Waga ko nari

On looking at the thief whom I have caught, [behold] it is my own child.

This epigram has remained proverbial for a wish, which, when fulfilled, turns out to be anything but pleasant.

On another occasion—it was in the tenth month of a certain year—the Shintō priest above mentioned, on entering the apartment where a poetical tournament was to be

held, and perceiving that the whole assemblage consisted of Buddhists, exclaimed in verse

(20)

O zashiki wo
Mireba izure mo
Kaminazuki

to which Sōgi responded with the second hemistich

Hitori shigure no
Furi-eboshi kite

The task of making this intelligible to any one entirely ignorant of Japan, its language, and customs, might be abandoned as hopeless. Members of the Asiatic Society will, however, easily perceive that the contrast insisted on by the two ready wits is that between the shaven pates of the Buddhists and the curious gauze cap worn by Shintō priests over their natural hair. But this is not all:—there are two puns to be taken into account, and *Kaminazuki* is here the first important word. It signifies literally "the month without Shintō gods." The tenth month of the year is so styled in Japanese poetical and religious parlance, because of a tradition to the effect that in that month all the Shintō gods and goddesses forsake their other shrines in order to hold a conclave at the great temple of Izumo. The sight of a party consisting exclusively of Buddhists would naturally remind a Shintoist of the absence of his Shintō gods, and furthermore, as *kami* means "hair" as well as "god," the syllables *kami na*[*shi*] suggest "no hair," in allusion to the Buddhist shaven heads, so that the upper hemistich comes to mean "On looking round the apartment, I see none but Buddhists." In the second hemistich the word *shigure*, "shower," which has nothing to do with the matter in hand, forms

a sort of punning "pillow-word" to introduce *furi*, which has the sense of "raining," and at the same time recalls *furui*, "old," thus giving the sense of "Yes, but there is one Shintoist among us in his old gauze cap." Both hemistichs are decidedly clever in the original, though the sparkle is of course lost and the point blunted by the laborious process of elucidation in a foreign tongue.

A few more examples of the compositions of this, the earliest, age of Japanese epigram will be found at the end of the present essay. The authors above mentioned each had numerous pupils, by whom their tradition was continued. But no eminent names are recorded till the close of the sixteenth century, when a Samurai called Matsunaga Teitoku (1571-1653) became the legislator for epigrammatic poetry by the publication of a work entitled "*O-Garagasa*," in which its rules were detailed apart from those that had so long guided the composers of "linked verses." Of the latter, too, he was the acknowledged master in his day, and was accordingly nominated by Imperial decree to the post of *Hana-no-moto*, which may be rendered "the Flowery Seat,"—a laureateship which carried with it the control over all minor teachers and pupils in the poetry schools by the granting or withholding of diplomas, etc.; for in the Japan of that age everything was legislated for,—even verse and versifiers. This particular poet, though highly eccentric and finally blind, left a flourishing school, from which shone out with particular lustre five disciples known to fame as the "Five Stars" (五星). Even such a Confucian scholar as Hayashi Razan, even so eminent a Japanologue as Kitamura Kigin, did not disdain to take lessons from him in epigram; and the great Bashō himself was, poetically speaking, his descend-

ant in the second generation. His verses appear to me somewhat formal; but he had the merit of avoiding vulgarity. Teishitsu (1608-1671), one of the "Five Stars," equalled, if he did not surpass, his master, though it is related that he had so poor an opinion of his own productions that he considered only three worth preservation, and committed all the rest to the flames. One of these three has been held by the best judges * to be the finest epigram ever written. It runs as follows :—

(22)

Kore wa kore wa
To bakari hana no
Yoshino-yama

The verse resists all attempts at adequate representation in English; but the gist of it is that the mountains of Yoshino, when covered with the cherry-blossom, baffle description by their loveliness, and leave the beholder nothing but inarticulate exclamations of wonder and delight. This poet also had five specially eminent pupils, known in literary history as "The Two Guests and the Three Men" (二客

* By such men, for instance, as Bashō. But Aeba Kōson, an ingenious modern critic, has pointed out a flaw in the verse:—it is not characteristic enough. *Mutatis mutandis*, the same words might be applied to other unique scenes, as *Kore wa kore wa—To bakari yuki no—Fuji no yama*, substituting Fuji with its snows for Yoshino with its flowers. Among epigrams on Yoshino, this critic would award the palm to the following (by the poet Ryōta), which could not be transferred to any other scene:—

(21)

Shira-kumo ya
Chiru toki hana no
Yoshino-yama

Its purport is to liken the falling petals of the cherry-blossoms of Yoshino to a white cloud. Perhaps one might render it thus: "A white cloud,—nay! the blossoms on Mount Yoshino as they flutter down."

三人). With them the first or introductory period of the Japanese epigram, as cultivated at Kyōto, may be said to close. Its latest members were contemporary with the rise of two other schools,—the *Danrin Ha* at Yedo, which plunged into intricacy, mannerism, and exaggeration, and Bashō's school which finally led Japanese poetry back into the paths of good taste and good morals.

The origin of the *Danrin* School was on this wise. A Samurai from the province of Higo, named Nishiyama Sōin (1605–1682), whose lord had been cashiered, wandered off to Ōsaka and Kyōto, where he shaved his head as a Buddhist priest and prayed for poetical inspiration to the god Tenmangū, at whose shrine each of his compositions was successively offered up. Such pious preparation would lead the European student to expect some grave and serious result; but in Japan they manage these matters differently. The result in this case was that the poet went in for every kind of verbal jugglery and ingenious conceit! Meantime, at the then recently founded and luxurious city of Yedo, a similar meretricious taste had found a home in a little coterie of versifiers who were weary of the simplicity of the earlier Kyōto school. Their club, which was known by the title of *Danrin* (談林), or "The Forest of Consultation," warmly welcomed Nishiyama to Yedo in 1664. He became its leader, and, by roving all over the country from Nagasaki to the extreme North, where one of the local Daimyōs enrolled himself among his pupils, he spread the new mode far and wide, assisted therein by his contemporary Saikaku, the favourite novelist of the day, who may be best described as a Japanese Zola, as his stories are alike admirable in style and abominable in matter. His epigrams, fortunately—at

least those that I have seen quoted—do not appear to have shared in this coarseness. Tradition credits him with having composed twenty thousand of them in a single day. Here are a few examples of the verses of the Danrin School:—

(23)

Naga-mochi ni
Haru kakure-yuku
Koromo-gae

A change of garments, and the spring
Goes into hiding in the chest

that is to say, "When we stow away our heavier garments on the approach of summer, spring hides itself in our trunks or closets till next year,"—a conceit which it doubtless cost the composer some trouble to excogitate.

(24)

Kumo no mine ya
Yama minu kuni no
Hiroi-mono

A lucky find,—the peaks of cloud,—
For countries that no mountains see

that is, "In flat countries, how glad the natives must be to see mountainous masses of cloud!"—another conceit of like calibre to the first.

(25)

Moshi nakaba
Chōchō kago no
Ku wo uken.

Did it but sing, the butterfly
Might have to suffer in a cage

in other words, "'Tis fortunate for the butterfly that its voice is not as beautiful as its wings; for in that

case it would run the risk of being shut up in a cage by those who would fain hear it sing."

(26)

Tsuki-yo yoshi
Tachitsu itsu netsu
Mitsu-no-hama

The actual sense here conveyed is, "Beauteous is the moonlight night at Mitsu-no-hama, whether one stand up, or sit, or lie down." But the real point must be sought in the sound of the words,—the three ***tsu's*** of *Tachitsu itsu netsu*, resumed in the word ***mitsu***, which itself signifies "three."

(27)

Sareba aki
To mōsu iware no
Nobe sōrō

Here again the matter signifies little; it is the manner that amuses. The meaning, so far as there is any, is merely that the aspect of the moor proclaims the autumn season. But, apart from a pun on the word ***nobe***, which may mean either "to proclaim" or "a moor-side," an irresistibly droll effect is produced by the employment of the stiff epistolary style, than which nothing can be further from the spirit of poetry. One poetess even composed her death-song in this mock epistolary style:—

(28)

Tsuki mo mite
Ware wa kono yo wo
Kashiku kana

which may be rendered into fairly equivalent English thus:

And having seen the moon, I now
To this world have the honour to be

that is to say, "Having enjoyed the world, its beauties and its glories, I now have the honour to remain your humble servant, etc., etc., and to depart this life." It seems a poor joke to die with.

Literary conceits are, of all things, the hardest to transfer from one language to another. Still, even the slight indications here given may suffice to show how naturally and inevitably the fireworks of the Danrin School would eclipse the productions of the earlier epigrammatists, with their quiet prettinesses and their innocent little puns. For a whole generation this sort of thing hit the public taste, just as "smart" writing has done in our own day among Anglo-Saxons. The only question was as to who should express the most far-fetched ideas in the most unexpected words. Sometimes it was a clever literary allusion,—a Confucian maxim, perhaps, masquerading in modern Japanese guise;—sometimes an astounding exaggeration; at others something new in the mere phrasing,—a horribly vulgar word, or else a solemnly classical one,—anything in short, provided that the effect was warranted to startle. As for the matter, that was a *quantité négligeable.*

III.

Such was the state of Japanese poetry—for the epigram was the only species of poetry that retained any life—when a man appeared, named Bashō, who was destined to infuse into it a totally new spirit. This remarkable person was born in the year 1644 at Ueno, in the province of Iga.

He came of ancient Samurai lineage, and from boyhood had been the favourite companion of his Daimyō's son. This accomplished youth, himself no mean scholar and poet, was at once Bashō's feudal lord, his teacher, and his friend. When death prematurely removed him, Bashō, then a boy of sixteen, was so distraught with grief that home and the ordinary avocations of a Samurai could no longer restrain him. Despite the Daimyō's injunctions, he fled privately, carrying with him a lock of his dead young lord's hair to the great Buddhist monastery of Kōya-san, and leaving behind him a very pretty verse of adieu to the comrades of his youth :—

(29)

Kumo to hedatsu
Tomo ka ya kari no
Iki-wakare

The words are not susceptible of exact translation into English; but their drift is that the writer is now severed for life from his former friends, as the soaring wild-geese are from each other by the clouds of heaven. In the autumn of the same year he abandoned the world, in order to throw himself into the arms of poverty and mysticism. Many contradictory versions are given of the exact reasons for his retirement. One, for which there is no shadow of proof, but which has been made the theme of a popular drama, implicates his moral character, telling of an intrigue with his lord's wife. But the simplest explanation is to be found in that pessimistic and ascetic tinge, which, though dead in the Japan of the twentieth century, had been impressed on the national mind during the mediæval period of civil war and misery, and which, long before Bashō's time, had driven warriors and nobles innumerable

to lay aside worldly dignities. After the final pacification of the country about the year 1600, under the sway of the Tokugawa Shōguns, the same causes no longer operated. But in their place, for all members of the Samurai caste or military gentry, there came a grinding, omnipresent routine, a ceaseless round of minute ceremonial observances, which made life a burden to any but the most prosaic spirits. Little wonder that heads of families became *inkyo*, as it was called,—that is, retired from active life, as early as possible, as the only escape from official tyranny, the only means of following their own tastes,—while others, more impatient still, threw over the traces even in youth by sheltering themselves under the shadow of the Buddhist profession, whose power in the land was still a mighty one. Many became Buddhist priests in form only, renouncing their hereditary names and titles, shaving their heads, and donning priestly robes, but devoting themselves to pleasure, nowise to religion. Such were the esthetes who, as playmates of Shōguns and other exalted personages, developed the tea ceremonies, planned most of the beautiful gardens at Kyōtō, and helped to advance all the fine arts. Others were genuine converts; many seem to have stood half-way between mystic fervour and artistic or literary culture. Bashō's position was peculiar. Genuinely converted, a mystic of the Zen sect to the tip of his fingers, his aim was yet strictly practical; he wished to turn men's lives and thoughts in a better and higher direction, and he employed one branch of art, namely poetry, as the vehicle for the ethical influence to whose exercise he had devoted his life. The very word "poetry" (at least *haikai*, which we must here perforce translate by "poetry" rather than by

"epigram") came in his mouth to stand for morality. Did any of his followers transgress the code of poverty, simplicity, humility, long-suffering, he would rebuke the offender with a "This is not poetry" (literally, "not epigram"), meaning "this is not right." But more often he contented himself with preaching by example.

But to return to his biography. Having freed himself in early youth from all official duties, and having determined to lead a life devoted to virtue and to intellectual achievement, he went to Ōsaka and Kyōto, and wandered with special delight amid the mountain fastnesses of Yoshino, which had been the favourite retreat of his favourite poet, Saigyō Hōshi. There he bathed in the brooks and rested in the shady valleys, and meditated on the impermanence of human fate. This life and the composition of poetry helped to calm his spirit. A verse from those days preserves the memory of his early struggles:—

(30)

Tsuyu toku-toku
Kokoromi ni uki-yo
Sosogaba ya

Where the dews drop, there would I fain
Essay to wash this frivolous world

that is, "I would wash away from me all taint of the world by a plunge into pure nature."—The deep gulf separating utterances like this from the futilities of previous epigrammatists need scarcely be pointed out. Bashō's position as poet and as moralist is here taken up, never to be relinquished. Soon afterwards we find him at Yedo, where he studied all the literature then accessible under the best masters,—masters whose names

have remained famous to this very day,—Chinese philosophy and *belles-lettres* under Itō Tan-an, Japanese classical poetry and prose under Kitamura Kigin, modern poetry under Yamaguchi Sodō, Buddhism under Butchō Oshō. He constantly carried about with him one or other of the chief works of the standard authors, and several of these he knew by heart; so that when he came to employ epigram as his vehicle of expression, he did so with a mind full of ideas differing widely from the idle conceits which had formed the stock-in-trade of his predecessors in that art. But though so great a reader, his favourite book of all was nature, which he studied in extensive wanderings almost all over Japan. From the year 1672 onwards, his residence—so far as he can be said to have had any permanent residence—was at Yedo in a little villa, or rather cottage, in the garden of a friend, a well-to-do citizen, where grew some banana-trees (Jap. *bashō*), which suggested the literary pseudonym by which he is known to fame; for here be it parenthetically remarked that almost all Japanese artists and poets take some such pseudonym, often several. The whole literary world of the new metropolis seems to have at once kindly welcomed him. Soon he became the acknowledged leader of those who wrote verse; and the almost yearly publication of some new work led even such as had hitherto practised other styles to renounce them, and to proclaim themselves his pupils. Every rank of society contributed its quota. The majority perhaps were priests,—at least priests in name; but we find also doctors, tradesmen, Samurai, even Daimyōs, and not grown men only, but boy students, and ladies too of various degrees enrolled in this truly democratic literary

circle, which so strangely maintained its private liberty in the midst of the rigidly fettered social organism that enveloped it on every side.

About the year 1682, Bashō seems to have experienced a second conversion; at any rate his study of the doctrines of the Zen sect of Buddhism then became more earnest, owing to continued intercourse with the Buddhist teacher above mentioned, aided by conversations with the latter's personal attendant, who, though an illiterate man, had attained to spiritual enlightenment. The learned abbot endeavoured at first to wean him from the composition of epigrams, on the ground of their frivolity. The story goes that, as the two were strolling one day in a country lane, the abbot said, "You, who turn everything into idle verse, what useful thing could you find to say about this mallow by the roadside?" Bashō at once responded with the stanza

(31)

Michi-no-be no
Mokuge wa uma ni
Kuware-keri

The mallow-flower by the road
Was eaten by a [passing] horse

and the abbot owned himself vanquished in the dispute; for the moral lesson conveyed in those few words was too obvious:—"Had not the mallow pressed forward into public view, the horse would never have devoured it. Learn, then, ambitious man, to be humble and retiring. The vulgar yearning for fame and distinction can lead nowhither but to misery, for it contradicts the essential principle of ethics."

The following epigram, which every Japanese has by heart, also probably dates from this period:

(32)

Furu-ike ya
Kawazu tobi-komu
Mizu no oto

The old pond, aye! and the sound of a frog leaping into the water.

From a European point of view, the mention of the frog spoils these lines completely; for we tacitly include frogs in the same category as monkeys and donkeys,—absurd creatures scarcely to be named without turning verse into caricature. The Japanese think differently:—the frog, in their language, has even a poetical name—*kawazu*—besides its ordinary name, *kairu*, and his very croak appeals to them as a sort of song. The picture here outlined of some mouldering temple enclosure with its ancient piece of water, stagnant, silent but for the occasional splash of a frog, suggests to them the meditative and pathetic side of life. To them it appears natural that the "attainment of enlightenment," as the Buddhists call it, or conversion, as we say in Christian parlance, should express itself in some such guise.

The foreign student may at first feel somewhat sceptical concerning the moral signification attributed to many of Bashō's epigrams. The justice of such a method of interpretation is of course difficult to prove convincingly. Nevertheless, the testimony of tradition must be allowed some weight, and I have been brought to believe that a thorough study of the influence of the mysticism of the Zen sect in Japan would bear out native tradition in its attribution of "inner meanings," not to Bashō's writings merely, but to the writings and even the actions of many

other men of that and previous periods. In any case, whether this current method of interpretation be true or false, it has been so widely received that no study of the Japanese epigram would be complete without some reference to it.

According to the accepted account, Bashō's change of views, his conviction of the transitoriness of all things earthly, and his consequent determination to have no longer any fixed home, were accelerated by the impression left on his mind by the burning of his house in the fire of January, 1683, which destroyed the greater part of Yedo. It is said that he had to throw himself into the pond in his little garden to avoid being burnt alive, a literal illustration of the text familiar to him as a good Buddhist, which teaches that "[man's life] is like unto a house on fire," that is, equally sure of swift destruction. Though his pupils clubbed together to rebuild his modest abode, though they even undertook to feed him, he is to be found from that time forward almost constantly on the road. The Tōkaidō, the Nakasendō, the provinces around Kyōto including his own native province of Iga, and above all the shores of beautiful Lake Biwa, of which some of his favourite pupils were natives and which have thus become classic ground in the annals of Japanese poetry,—all these districts were visited and re-visited, and commemorated in a series of diaries interspersed with stanzas, such as the "*No-zarashi Kikō*," the "*Sarashina Kikō*," the "*Oi no Shōbun*," and various others, not to mention the "*Saru-mino Shū*" and other anthologies, besides didactic works on the composition of epigram. His most distant journey was one to the North, when, beginning with Nikkō and the moor of

Nasu, he continued on to Matsushima, thence up the river Kitakami, afterwards across country to the opposite or Western coast, and back through the provinces of Uzen, Echigo, etc., into Mino. We know the exact day when he and his companion started,—the 16th May, 1689,—we know the weather they encountered, the people they met, the thoughts they thought,—for all this is chronicled in a diary entitled "*Oku no Hoso-michi*," which may perhaps be freely rendered as "Our Trail Northward." The whole thing may sound not so very unlike the tour of a modern globe-trotter. Mr. Aston, in his charming "History of Japanese Literature," has accordingly spoken of Bashō as "a great traveller." But I venture to think that this term, with its prosaic connotation, may mislead. He always spoke of himself as a pilgrim (*angya*). If he wandered up and down the country, it was in order to commune with mountains, and rivers, and forests, and waterfalls, in order to ponder on scenes of antiquity, and in order to realize in himself the Buddhistic ideal and to communicate it to his followers in all parts of the empire, as much by the contact of his personality as by the example of his verse. If he visited every place famous in song and legend and history,—battle-fields as well as graves and temples and places famed for beauty, he did so seeking not so much information, as does the intelligent but cold-blooded "traveller" of our own day and race, as edification. In other words, his aim was "enlightenment" in the Buddhistic sense,—a thing superficially akin to, yet fundamentally differing from, what we term "information," because the end in view is not scientific, intellectual, but ethical. Sometimes he might take a lift on a horse, or even in

a palanquin; but the plan generally followed by him and the two or three pupils whom he permitted to share his wanderings, was to go on foot, dressed in the poor garb of a pilgrim, and carrying no luggage save a wallet which contained his writing-box and a few books. Sometimes they would sleep at a wayside inn, sometimes at a peasant's hut, sometimes in the open air. Not infrequently, owing to Bashō's wide-spread reputation, the hospitality of some great house was pressed on him; nor was it refused, though he knew on an occasion how to rebuke the ostentation even of a host. For instance, when spending a few days at the rich city of Kanazawa on the northern pilgrimage just mentioned, a grand feast was organised in his honour by the local leaders of literary society. When it was over, he thanked them for their kind intentions on his behalf, but added bluntly that such feasting on rare and expensive viands was nowise to his taste, nor at all compatible with the poetic life, that his own custom was to take his siesta on a moor or to sit under a tree to avoid a shower, that if he required food he would ask for it, and in fine that only on condition of perfect sobriety and simplicity, would he consent to keep up intercourse with his present hosts. The rebuke, tempered doubtless by the courtly, old-fashioned manners for which he was noted, was taken in good part. At the next meeting, nothing was provided but tea, and there was all the more leisure for fruitful discourse on poetry, and for the composition of verses by all present, and for their correction, according to established Japanese custom, by the master himself. At length he suggested that the company might be feeling hungry, and would be grateful for a little cold rice.

Thereupon no servant, but the master of the house himself, brought in the family rice-tub, and helped each guest to a bowl or two of rice, with pickles as the sole condiment. The whole company gathered round in a circle to share the frugal repast, and Bashō's thanks were warmly expressed for the readiness shown in complying with his recommendation of plain living and high thinking.

The severe simplicity observed in his cottage at Yedo is described by a writer who visited him there in the year 1684. The same writer affords us a quaint peep at the life led in those days by two of his pupils, who afterwards rose to great celebrity,—Kikaku and Ransetsu. These youths, with one other, inhabited a room of eight mats, bare of all conveniences save one pan and one kettle, and having for sole ornament an image of the infant Buddha stuck in a hole in the wall. The three owned but a single quilt between them, from which, as it was rather short, their toes stuck out at night; and when they felt cold, they got up and composed verses. Yet they came of parents well-born and not specially poor, and they had been trained in the best schools. Some of the houses inhabited by the members of this semi-religious, semi-Bohemian circle had rules written up prescribing the conduct which all guests were expected to observe. One excellent code, which was followed in a rich house near Kyōto where Bashō was always a welcome guest, forbade, among other things, "arguing and loud snoring."

Never to yield to anger was one of Bashō's fixed principles. Another was universal charity, not towards men only, but towards animals. His vivid realisation of the Buddhistic doctrine of the essential identity of all sentient ex-

istence, whether brute or human, seems to have become an ingrained feeling, to which many of his best-known stanzas bear witness, for instance :—

(33)

Hana ni asobu
Abu na kui so
Tomo-suzume

Sparrow, my friend, * oh! do not eat
The bees † that hover o'er the flowers!

(34)

Hai-ide yo
Kai-ya no shita no
Hiki no koe

'Tis a toad's croak. Come! hop away
From underneath the fancier's house. ‡

He would not allow of unkindness to animals so much as in thought. An anecdote will serve to illustrate this point. As he and his pupil Kikaku were riding along a country lane one day, the latter, espying a red dragon-fly, cried out in verse

(35)

Aka-tombo
Hane wo tottara
Tō-garashi

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* One might also translate *tomo-suzume* by "companion sparrows," i.e., sparrows flying in flocks. In the present connection, however, this is less likely to have been the poet's meaning.

† *Abu* generally means the "horsefly." But another smaller insect if also so called,—apparently a species of bee, which hums and is fond os hovering over flowers.

‡ Bird-fanciers catch toads, in order to fatten them up and use their skins to make pouches of, or they sell the flesh of the creatures themselves as medicine. The kindly poet wishes this toad to escape such a fate.

i.e., "Pluck off the wings of a red dragon-fly, and you have a Cayenne pepper-pod." But Bashō reproved him for so cruel a fancy, and corrected the verse thus:—

Tō-garashi
Hane wo tsuketara
Aka-tombo

i.e., "Add wings to a Cayenne pepper-pod, and you have a red dragon-fly."

His ardent love of all sentient beings and even of inanimate nature, especially of flowers, showed itself further in a minute observation of natural objects and their ways, and this became a characteristic of the whole later epigrammatic school, moulded as it was by his influence. Doubtless an element of weakness as well as of strength was contained herein; for the perpetual observation of small natural details encouraged a mode of thought prone to dwell on the surface of the visible world, while neglecting the depths and heights of human nature. This has always been a weak point in the intellectual armour of the Far-Eastern nations:—they have never fully realised that "the proper study of mankind is man," and accordingly their art and philosophy alike have remained on a comparatively lower plane.

The purity of Bashō's life—a thing far from common in the Japan of those days—was patent to the world. But he was no prude. On one occasion, at a country inn in the North, he found himself in the room next to that where slept, or rather chattered, two unhappy girls,—courtesans. They were bound on a pilgrimage to Ise, in atonement for their ill-spent lives, and the man-servant who had accompanied them so far was to return from that post-station, leaving them to pursue their long

journey alone. Next morning, noticing the priestly garb of their neighbour and of his companion, they begged to be allowed to journey part of the way in the company of the holy men, or, if that were asking too much, at least in sight of them. This Bashō excused himself from; but he spoke kindly, assuring the girls of the divine care for wayfarers, even such as they. The epigram which he then composed has remained famous:—

Hitotsu-ya ni
Yūjo mo netari
Hagi to tsuki

The literal interpretation of these words is "Courtesans [and I] slept in the same house,—the lespedeza and the moon." The meaning is that "Occasion will make the greatest strangers companions,—as the moon in heaven and the lespedeza blossom on earth, as priests vowed to a life of sanctity and girls fated to a life of shame. The happier should not altogether condemn or disown the less fortunate, no, not even the guilty, who may often be more sinned against than sinning."

Another of Bashō's marked characteristics was a contempt for shams and for triviality of every kind. True, he could not altogether free himself from the literary conventions of his time and nation; yet he did so to a considerable degree. It was noticed that, of his many thousands of epigrams, not one dealt with Mount Fuji, or with the cherry-blossoms of Yoshino, or with the pine-clad islets of Matsushima,—subjects which custom had, in a manner, imposed on all Japanese writers of verse. Moreover, Yoshino had been one of his favourite haunts, and Fuji of course a familiar friend on tramps innumerable. He even made a long journey (which was more

than the majority of rhymesters did) to see Matsushima with his own eyes; but when he had seen it, he confessed that all that could be said on the subject had been said already, and therefore would not write, having nothing new to tell.

To the so-called rules of composition he paid little heed,—so little in fact that his followers, themselves anxious for rules to guide their own practice, had to allow that their teacher stood outside the rules. He appears to have instinctively felt the absurdity of all the grave legislation which there had been for such little cockle-shells of verse; but actual revolt was as foreign to the Zen spirit in artistic matters as in social or political. Bashō's theory and practice were resumed in the four words 不易流行 *fu-eki ryū-kō*, which may be freely rendered as "unchanging truth in fleeting form," that is, the matter must be such as has permanent interest, the manner must be that of the writer's age,—as good a definition as could perhaps be given of a classic. Truth, he said, has ever been considered "the marrow of style," and he defined truth of style as consisting in repose and in simplicity. Again, "In composing, compose not overmuch:—you will lose genuineness. Let your epigrams spring from the heart rather than from art." And to a correspondent he wrote, "Your zeal for epigram is good news. But epigrams from the heart are more important than erudition. Many men there are who can turn a phrase; there are few who observe the heart's rules." Or take such utterances as the following:—"Style should be natural, with a graceful turn. Ingenuity and the search after what is strange are less to be recommended..... Follow nature, and constantly turn to

nature ..... Let your epigrams resemble a willow-branch struck by a light shower, and sometimes waving in the breeze." Furthermore, he never wearied of impressing on his pupils that they should lead the poetic life, for that then the words of their poems would flow spontaneously; and it was observed that he rarely, if ever, discoursed on art alone, but constantly brought in the ethical element, for which above all he really cared, poetry being to him a means rather than an end. Accordingly, as already noticed, he paid little heed to traditional rules. Even prosody counted for little in his practice. Though no author had Japanese prosody—such as it is—in more perfect command, none offers so many examples of rhythm broken by redundant syllables, doubtless because his instinct told him that the poetic form current in his day and nation was unreasonably short, and because he therefore preferred breaking through the form to sacrificing the sense. The following may serve as one instance among many:—

(37)

Kare-eda ni
Karasu no tomari-keri
Aki no kure

The end of autumn, and some rooks
Are perched upon a withered branch

The second line has nine syllables instead of the regular seven; but it would be impossible to convey more forcibly in one brief phrase the idea of autumnal desolation, and that was all that Bashō cared for. This was an "epigram" in the literal sense of the word, having been inscribed on a sketch of three crows huddling on a leafless branch. Other examples of lines with super-

uous syllables will be found in the little anthology at ıe end of this paper. The Japanese have never been ickler's for prosodial accuracy; but Bashō allowed him-:lf an unusual latitude.

Bashō's health, always delicate, seems to have been orn out by his constant wanderings, which exposed him many hardships. He died at the age of fifty, while on e road as usual, busy spreading his ideas, ethical and ›etical. He had been entertained at Ōsaka at the house the poetess Sono-Jo, where some mushrooms poisoned m. A minute account has been preserved of his last ıys. He lingered for a fortnight, his chief pupils gather-g round him and nursing him with filial care. When it :came evident that no hope remained, they requested him compose a death-bed stanza, according to the universal ıstom of Japanese poets. But he refused, being unwilling sanction by his example a practice which he thought d to vanity and deceit, for that insincere persons were ont to get their so-called death-bed poems ready long :forehand, wherewith to cheat the world at their last ›ur. Nevertheless, next morning, he called two of the atchers to his bedside, and said, "Last night, while I lay eepless, the following stanza came into my mind:—

(38)

Tabi ni yamite
Yume wa kare-no wo
Kake-mawaru

Ta'en ill while journeying, I dreamt
I wandered o'er a withered moor.

"Neither is this a death-bed stanza, nor is it not one. blame myself for being still attached to my lifelong

pursuit of poetry at this moment, when face to face with the great change from life to death."

His state grew more and more critical. On the 27th November, his favourite disciple Kikaku arrived. The interview affected both to tears. Nevertheless, on the next day, Bashō was still able to be moved to laughter by some trivial occurrence which suggested comic verses to one of the party; so they took to composing turn and turn about, in order to amuse him. On the 28th, out of his great love of cleanliness, he insisted on taking a bath, after which he sat up in bed with his chief pupils facing him, and the others ranged in a row on either side, when one of them took down his last will and testament in writing. He himself penned a letter to his old home, sent verbal messages to various pupils, charged those present to forgive one whom, for a grave offence, they had ostracised from their company, then folding his hands in prayer, recited the Buddhist sutra of the Goddess of Mercy ("*Kwannon Kyō*"), and sank back dead as if asleep. He was buried in the temple grave-yard of Gichūji, by the shores of Lake Biwa, on—as it is specially recorded—a beautiful day in the Indian summer, the 30th November, 1694, over three hundred mourners attending. The catalogue of the possessions which he left behind is recorded too,—one image of Shaka Muni, one copper bowl, one cape, one wooden ink-box, and so on, ending with a few books and scrolls.

Such, sketched in barest outline, was the career of this amiable and accomplished man, whom some students of his life and works might perhaps feel inclined to term the Japanese Wordsworth. Of course it would not do to press the comparison closely. Bashō was not born under

the same lucky star as Wordsworth. He inherited a language incomparably inferior as a vehicle for poetry, and was restricted to a single form of verse, and that the poorest. From this cause, if from no other, his poetical performance may no more be ranked with Wordsworth's than Skiddaw may be ranked with Fuji. Nevertheless, he succeeded in regenerating the poetic taste of his day. His knowledge of nature and his sympathy with nature were at least as intimate as Wordsworth's, and his sympathy with all sorts and conditions of men was far more intimate; for he never isolated himself from his kind, but lived cheerfully in the world, though not of the world. Accordingly, his contemporaries received from him a moral no less than a literary influence; he embodied for them the Zen form of Buddhism. This subject—the Zen doctrine and its influence in China and Japan—is one that has never yet been treated as it deserves, and it is impossible here to treat it parenthetically. At least so much will perhaps have been gathered from the foregoing,—that the Zen philosophy, or religion, or whatever it may best be termed, is a system in which the pessimism of original Buddhism is softened by wise concessions to common sense and to the needs and limitations of common life, in which asceticism of the body is exchanged for a sort of mental detachment not inconsistent with the calls of social intercourse, in which, while the essential vanity of all earthly pursuits is still recognised, some of those which appeal most strongly to the cultivated human mind, namely the various branches of art, are welcomed to an honoured place in the plan of life, because they may be availed of as a means for passing to yet higher spheres

of thought and conduct. The word *Zen* is a contraction of the Sanskrit word *dhyâna*, "contemplation." The early votaries of the sect used to pass their time in contemplation or abstraction. Of some it is related that they sat for years gazing at a wall, scarcely even thinking any more, but in a state betwixt rapture and unconsciousness. Experience, however, showed that mankind was not served by such unnatural excesses, and that the cultivation of harmless pursuits was a preferable mental anodyne. Of course they were never meant to be more than an anodyne. They were to be what the Japanese Buddhists term a *hōben*, a word not susceptible of literal translation into English, and which has most erroneously been translated as "pious fraud." The *hōben* is rather a way, a means, an instrument. The parables of the New Testament, for instance, are *hōben*,—stories not literally true, but useful though fictitious, because pointing the way to truth. In its modern form, the Zen creed had become essentially tolerant and cheery. Under its influence such virtues as moderation, contentment, simplicity, kindliness naturally flourished, together with that sobriety and good taste which we have all learnt to admire in the exquisite art of "Old Japan." Its danger was a tendency to degenerate into hedonism. We have already seen that some of its earlier professors studied simplicity less as a virtue than as the easiest road to pleasure, and especially to individual freedom in society as then constituted.

There is a point often incidentally touched on in the preceding pages, which may seem particularly strange to anyone unacquainted with the manner in which the arts are cultivated in Japan, namely, the great number of disciples who gathered around Bashō, followed him about,

tended him. Bashō, in fact, is commonly said to have had three thousand disciples. Another account says one thousand, of whom two hundred principal ones. The names of about one hundred are still familiar to educated persons. Yet he had laboured for little over ten years. Similar phenomena meet us in the careers of other poets before and since, and of professors of various arts. The explanation of this circumstance is rooted in one of the fundamental doctrines of Chinese philosophy, as taught by Confucius and developed more particularly by Mencius, —the doctrine of the essential goodness of human nature. The prominence given to this doctrine leads to an extravagantly high opinion of the value of education; for a mind essentially good will of course require but right training to attain to something very like perfection. Hence also, by analogy, the power attributed to education of working, not moral marvels only, but intellectual. Our Western saying that *Poeta nascitur, non fit* springs from an entirely different mental soil. Here it is held that every one can become a painter, every one can become a poet, just as every one can learn to read and write and to behave himself. To a certain extent this is true. What renders it doubly true in the Far-East is the absence of real genius,—as we Westerns understand genius,—so that the interval between different degrees of merit is less than with us. In this manner, racial disposition, strengthened by a congenial doctrine and its attendant practice, accounts for the enormous number of persons in China and Japan who can paint, poetise, and so on, after a quite respectable fashion. Mediocrity does not displease here, which is fortunate, seeing that the highest excellence is wanting. At the same time, it must be

granted that the immense spread of the cultivation of various arts has tended still further to debase the average standard. Hundreds of so-called epigrams, in particular, call to mind nothing so much as the performance of a poor amateur with a poor kodak.

Fortunately, the very worst performers rarely walk quite alone, the usual plan being for the teacher to touch up his pupils' productions before they are allowed to circulate. For centuries past, in every branch of art, a whole class of professional or semi-professional persons, furnished with diplomas and ranged in a hierarchy of gradually ascending excellence, has made a livelihood by polishing the unskilful efforts of amateurs. As such teachers of the poetic art place particular marks against the words needing emendation or calling for special praise, they are termed "markers" (*tensha*), and many have a bad reputation for avarice and corruption. Bashō was no friend to the "markers." His expression of opinion on the amateurs of his day, given in a letter to a friend, is characteristic. He divides epigrammatists into three classes, namely: I. Those who spend their lives wrangling with professional "markers" over the correctness of their diction. Even these, he remarks with his usual kindliness and perhaps a little touch of irony, do better than if they were to give themselves up to evil courses; for their innocent folly helps in any case to support the "marker," his wife, his children, and his landlord. II. Rich men who take up epigram-writing as an amusement, caring little whether the "marker" gives them good marks or bad. These resemble children playing at cards. Their time is at least better thus spent than in gossip. Their money and

patronage, likewise, not only support the "marker" class, but do really to some extent help forward the cause of true estheticism. III. Those who study poetry genuinely, devote to it all their strength, and employ it as a means to enter on the true "way," that is, on a philosophical and ethical life. Of these last, he concluded, there could scarcely be ten in the whole empire. Evidently, Bashō shared in no delusions as to the innate goodness or cleverness of men in general. But he did his best towards helping as many as possible to be better and to strive after a better esthetic taste, and he wisely abstained from discouraging well-meant effort, however feeble. His philosophy was truly practical,—humanitarian without fuss. He was the mildest, the least revolutionary of reformers.

IV.

In the preliminary studies for this paper, notes were taken for the biography and characterisation of each of the leading epigrammatists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Independence and eccentricity having always been prominent traits of the class, many of these epigrammatists are the subjects of interesting anecdotes. At least one of them, Onitsura, was a truly remarkable man, almost the peer of Bashō himself, whose friend and contemporary he was, though he survived to the year 1738. But the foregoing account of Bashō has run to such lengths that his successors must be dealt with summarily, before passing on to some concluding remarks of a miscellaneous nature.

Bashō's two most eminent disciples—Kikaku and Ransetsu—have already been mentioned. These, with eight more, named respectively Kyorai, Jōsō, Kyoroku, Shikō, Yaha, Kokushi, Etsujin, and Sampū, are known collectively as the *Jit-tetsu* (十哲),—a title signifying not exactly the "Ten Sages" nor yet exactly the "Ten Wits," but something between the two. Most of these died early in the eighteenth century. Though none came up to Bashō's standard of moral philosophy, their lives testified in many ways to the effect of his teaching, and many of their epigrams deserve to be placed on a par with his. In fact, these ten men—and notably the first four on the list—seem often to realise absolute perfection in this particular style, conveying through a mere pin-point of expression a whole picture to the mind. Examples of their compositions will be found at the end of this essay. Kikaku, though too independent and hasty to copy even Bashō, was himself copied by numberless pupils and admirers, forming the *Edo-Za* or "Yedo School," which subsists to the present day. Ransetsu also left a school, named after him the *Setsu-Mon*. Other schools, all traceable to Bashō, but tinged with local peculiarities, arose on the shores of that beautiful Lake Biwa where the master had spent so many happy days, at Kyōtō, in the provinces of Mino and Owari, at Ise, and in the North, in fact almost all over the Main Island of Japan; and literary history has preserved careful genealogical records of the succession in each, and of their occasional complicated interminglings.

It would seem that at first, that is, during the generation that lived from about 1720 to 1750, a marked decline in the standard of epigrammatic excellence took place.

A vulgar variety was evolved, wherein one person composed the first five syllables, another the last twelve. This, which was known as *Kammuri-zuke*, formed the very furthest point to which the disintegration of Japanese verse was carried. Sometimes people turned the making of epigrams into a kind of lottery, in which the winner gained a dollar, or they employed it as a vehicle for riddles and for caricatures of proverbs.

A second bloom of the true epigram occurred in the latter part of the eighteenth century, when names meet us not unworthy of comparison with any of those that had adorned an earlier age. Yokoi Yayū, for example, was a born versifier. He went so far as to hold that all children's speech falls naturally into sets of five, seven, and five syllables. Because he himself had "lisp'd in numbers," he assumed that others did the like. In later life, he became still better known as a writer of what is called *Haibun*, that is, epigrammatic prose, and in society he was idolised as a universal genius, an 'admirable Crichton,"—the best bowman, horseman, swordsman of his day. When rebuked by his feudal superior for wasting time on the composition of epigrams, he proved to the latter, by pouring them out extempore, that he wasted no time on them, for the simple reason that they cost him neither thought nor trouble; and he was known throughout his clan as the most loyal of retainers, the most faithful of friends, and—unusual combination—the most economical of householders.

The greatest epigrammatist of the silver age (circa 1770–80) was Buson, the bold painter whose lifelike delineations of tigers and other striking objects adorn some of the Kyōto temples. It may be said of him, as

of Bashō's two greatest pupils, that he carried the art *as* art up to perfection point. His technique is unsurpassed:—he literally paints with words, and how few words! See, for example, Nos. 175, 179, *et seq.*,—each versicle a perfect little cameo, sometimes of beauty, sometimes of humour. The tradition was carried on by Issa (1763—1827), a farmer of Shinshū, noted for eccentricity and childlike simplicity, and for kindliness which went so far that he refused even to kill a flea. One of his verses expresses, or rather indicates, the spirit of the Zen teaching more perfectly perhaps than any by other authors:—

(39)

Tsuyu no yo no
Tsuyu no yo nagara
Sari nagara

Granted this dewdrop world is but
A dewdrop world,—this granted, yet.....

that is, "Granted that all phenomena are transitory and valueless, like the dew that forthwith dries up and vanishes, still, when all is said and done, we cannot quite afford to throw life and its joys away. There is some element of permanence in it yet, though it were hard to define this element precisely."—The words in the original are as pretty as the thought itself is graceful and true.

Some of the foremost epigrammatists were women:—The names of Mitsu-Jo (17th century), her pupil Sono-Jo (died 1726), Chigetsu-ni (died 1706), Shūshiki (died 1725), and above all Kaga-no-Chiyo (died 1775), are known to all students of Japanese poetry. One of Chiyo's most celebrated epigrams has already been given,—

that describing the convolvuli which twined about the well. But her preëminent superiority, alike in diction, in nimble-wittedness, and in depth of thought and feeling, claims attention, even where so many famous names have to be passed over in silence. In no other Japanese verse, perhaps, is the sound a more perfect echo to the sense than in the following from her pen. The occasion of it is thus related. A celebrated professor of the art, Rogen-bō, who happened to pass through the remote northern town where she lived as a girl, and who was applied to by her for instruction, gave her the cuckoo as a theme, but was rude enough to pay no heed to her efforts and to fall asleep till dawn. She sat there patiently all night, and when the master at length opened his eyes, greeted him with the following:—

(40)

Hototogisu
Hototogisu tote
Ake ni keri

which made him clap his hands and aver that she needed no teacher, being already passed mistress of the art. Rendered into English, the lines merely mean "Day has dawned to [the sound of] 'cuckoo!' 'cuckoo!'" But the Japanese scholar will realise the mastery necessary to put together those six seemingly simple words.

This poetess's married life was summarised in three epigrams. The first

(41)

Shibukaro ka*
Shiranedo kaki no
Hatsu-chigiri

* Short *o* for long *ō* on account of the metre.

which was presented by her to her husband on their wedding-day, defies translation into English owing to its terseness. The meaning, however, is clear. The poetess compares her marriage vows to a persimmon. No one can tell whether a persimmon be astringent or not until he bites into it, nor can happiness in wedlock be assured till trial of it has been made. Chiyo had no illusions; but she bore her griefs with ortitude. Her elegy for her husband, who died early, was

(42)

Okite mitsu
Nete mitsu kaya no
Hirosa kana

Whether I lay me down or wake,
How large seems the mosquito-net!

that is, "The very sight of my widowed couch, when I retire to rest and when I wake again in the morning, reminds me of my loss and of my solitude." But she was to be still further bereft. Perhaps the reader, with his mind now better attuned to the Japanese style, will grasp the sad purport of the last epigram of the three:—

(43)

*Tombo-tori**
Kyō wa dokora ye
Itta yara

Where may he have gone off to-day,—
The hunter after dragon-flies?

Her little boy, too, had died, the bright lad who used to run after dragon-flies in the sunshine. To what un-

*Another reading gives *Tombo-tsuri*. If we accept it, the second line of the English must run thus, "The fisherman for dragon-flies." Japanese children do, as a matter of fact, often catch these insects with toy lines and hooks.

known land has he wandered off?—Surely this tiny composition were almost worthy a place in the Greek Anthology, so true is it to nature, so perfectly simple, and yet saying, or at least indicating all that can be said so fully that any word added would be superfluous. But to finish this thumb-nail sketch of Chiyo's mind, the humorous side, which in her, as in so many others, jostled the pathetic, claims a moment's notice. When left alone in the world as a woman of a certain age, she made a living by teaching of the poetic art, and it is related that her figure became unwieldy. One day, as she was quitting the mansion of a noble personage who had entertained her at dinner, the servant-girls, astonished to find that the pretty name of Chiyo belonged to a fat, plain, middle-aged woman, began tittering in the passage behind her. Instantly the poetess wheeled round, and admonished her pert critics in the following impromptu verse:—

(44)

Hito-kakae
Aredo yanagi wa
Yanagi kana

A willow may an armful be,
But 'tis a willow all the same.

That is, "I may be fat, but I am a lady, and expect to be treated as one,"—the willow-tree, with its slender gracefulness, being of course symbolical of womanhood.

V

With the generation which passed away about 1780, the art of composing epigrams was gradually lost. The

schools which endeavoured to preserve the old manner became fossilised, while out-of-doors the form of the epigram fell into vulgar hands which busied themselves inditing what are termed, from the name of their inventor, *Senryū* (died 1790),—verses which have this in common with the epigram, that they consist of seventeen syllables, but which are vulgar, often even gross, in matter, and equally low in diction. No need to treat here either of them or of a revival—the so-called *Shimpa*—which is in progress in our own day. This last phase cannot well be judged till more of its course shall have been run. Nevertheless, from the specimens to be found in almost every newspaper, the critic will hesitate to attribute to it much importance. It seems rather that all that can be said within the narrow limits set by such Lilliputian versicles, or semi-versicles, has been said long ago, and that we already stand at a sufficient distance of time from the best and most representative epigrammatists to be able to view their productions as a whole.

Notice, in passing, the curious order in which the phases of the Japanese epigram succeeded each other:—first, a frivolous stage; then the appearance of a reformer who put thought and feeling into the empty shell; then a stage of, so to say, art for art's sake; lastly, fossilisation. European precedents would have led us to expect a certain sturdy and simple genuineness at the beginning, extravagance at the end. But the epigram is not the only Japanese art which shows the exactly reversed sequence. The tea ceremonies offer another marked instance; for there, too, luxury and bad taste ran riot at the beginning, followed by Sen-no-Rikyū's reform in the direction of simplicity, and ending in the fossilisation of

that simplicity. This peculiarity of the Japanese esthetic development must be left to others to explain. More appropriate to the subject of the present essay is it to enquire:—what is the value of the Japanese epigram as literature? Doubtless a foreigner unaided might well distrust his ability to answer this question. But the native commentators—such men as Aeba Kōson, one of the leading *littérateurs* of the present day, and Shiki, and Kōyō Sanjin—help us over this difficulty. Not only have they compiled useful anthologies, and written books explaining the actual text of considerable numbers of famous epigrams; some of their editions indicate the classic sources, both Japanese and Chinese, from which Bashō drew, and thus enable us to appreciate his erudition. One on Buson's epigrams gives the opinions of a whole circle of his modern admirers on most points, while others supply us with biographies, anecdotes, etc., all helping not only to elucidate an enigmatical style, but to fill in the picture of a vanished age.

But while the native commentators are indispensable helps to a comprehension of the subject, it may be doubted whether any European student could bring himself to adopt their estimates. Modern Japanese critics do not intend that their national literature shall yield the palm to that of any other land. Accordingly, they have set themselves to discover Japanese Shakespeares, Japanese Scotts, Japanese Victor Hugos, etc., etc., etc.* In fact, they

* These lines had scarcely been penned, when a newspaper appeared announcing, among other interesting items, the death of "the Japanese Rousseau," Mr. Nakae Tokusuke. As this gentleman was a violent atheist and materialist (his latest work bore the title "Neither God nor Soul"), the nature of his intellectual kinship to the author of "Le Vicaire Savoyard" seems somewhat problematical. *Ex uno disce omnes.*

are busy turning all their geese into swans, with the help of the technicalities of European art criticism,—the "subjective," the "objective," and all the rest of the jargon. They inform us that Bashō's verse was a mirror reflecting the universe within a frame of seventeen syllables. They discover a criticism of life—the whole Zen philosophy in fact—in that single stanza of his on the old pond and the frog jumping into the water, which has been quoted on page 279; and in the next specimen (by one of the "Ten Wits") they admire "that absolute transparency and truth to nature which are of the essence of the epigram:"—

(45)

Suzushisa ya
En yori ashi wo
Bura-sageru

Oh! how cool, dangling one's legs over the verandah!

Similarly do they judge in countless other cases.

At the same time, and though nothing would be easier than to make fun of the extravagantly laudatory critics, and even of the epigrammatists themselves, to do so would surely prove little but that the foreign investigator's own critical sense was deficient, but in another direction. For is he not called on to treat his subject sympathetically, or, as Pope puts it, to

"read each work of wit
With the same spirit that its author writ?"

And is this not more than ever necessary in the case of any Oriental literary product, because the conditions under which it came into existence differ *toto cælo* from those of our own literature?

The leg-dangling epigram must of course, be given up,

and with it scores and hundreds of "the baser sort,"—trivialities traceable to the unhappy assumption that every one is capable of writing verse. But when the European critic has made all reasonable deductions, when he has eliminated the prosings and the quibbles and the vulgarities of those poetasters whom Japanese tolerance admits to a niche in the national temple of fame, he is yet left with a remnant wherein many tiny prettinesses sparkle. If he cannot here discover intact that mirror reflecting the universe of which the Japanese commentators speak, he does find thousands of fragments of shattered glass, among which some of shattered crystal, each reflecting at a different angle some minute corner of a scene, a brief note of some fact in nature, or maybe an indication of some sentiment or fancy. The Japanese epigram at its best is a loop-hole opened for an instant on some little natural fact, some incident of daily life. It is a momentary flash, a smile half-formed, a sigh suppressed almost before it becomes audible. Take, for instance, Bashō's lines composed on one of Japan's most famous battle-fields, now a desolate moor:—

(46)

Natsu-gusa ya
Tsuwa-mono-domo no
Yume no ato
Haply the summer grasses are
A relic of the warriors' dream.

That is, "Of the warriors' dream of power and glory, nought remains but the high grasses waving o'er the moor that is their tomb." Or this other, already quoted at the beginning of the present paper, and which is typical of the art at its highest point of perfection:—

A single river, stretching far
Across the moorland swathed in snow.

Such shorthand verses, if so they may be called, spring from the same mental soil as that on which stand many Japanese artists, who have—not painted, or even sketched,—but hinted at, a flight of birds, a sea-coast, a pine-tree, with but two or three strokes of the brush. The result is not great, perhaps; but we wonder at the production, with such scanty means, of any result at all; and we cannot refrain from wishing that the man who performed these feats in little had tried his skill on a larger canvas. Practically, the classical or semi-classical poets of Japan, for over a thousand years past, have confined themselves to pieces of 31 syllables or of 17, whereas even our sonnet, which we look on as a trifle, has 140, and our system of stanzas strung together enables us to continue indefinitely till the whole of a complex train of thought has been brought before the mind. But it may well be that, even had Europe been available as a model, no such sustained style would have had much chance of permanently establishing itself in Japan. When an artist—when whole generations of artists have produced one sort of thing, it must always remain extremely doubtful whether, after all, they could have produced another. The tendency to ultra-brevity is too persistent a characteristic of Japanese esthetics to be accidental in any given case. Remember that there was no want of longer models. Such models were at hand in Chinese poetry; there were a few, as we have seen, even in the ancient poetry of Japan itself. But somehow these models failed to attract.

Granting, therefore, as a sober judgment forces us to

do, that Japanese poems are but slight efforts,—not pearls, but only tiny beads,—a critical estimate of Bashō, and of the Japanese epigrammatists generally, reduces itself to two points:— I. What is each individual tiny bead worth? and II. Are there enough of these beads, and are they varied enough, to make up a valuable sum total? The foregoing essay will, it is hoped, have put the reader in the way of forming his own opinion on both these issues. Possibly he may deem that the nearest English analogues of the molecules of description, fancy, or morality left us by the best Japanese epigrammatists are such Tennysonian half-stanzas as

> "A single church below the hill
> Is pealing, folded in the mist."
>
> "The last red leaf is whirl'd away,
> The rooks are blown about the skies."
>
> "But in my spirit will I dwell,
> And dream my dream, and hold it true."

The difference between the two cases—and doubtless it is a vital difference—lies in this, that the Japanese production is isolated, fragmentary, whereas the European forms part of a grand organic whole. On the one side, "In Memoriam" and whole "Palaces of Art;" on the other, a litter of single bricks, half-bricks in fact. The investigator of Japanese literature, for all that his task is so arduous, has not the satisfaction to be rewarded by the unearthing of any sublime or epoch-making monuments. He must take sundry small finds, and be thankful. He is in the position of a botanist whose specialty should be mosses or lichens, and who therefore could not hope to delight either himself or the public with any

grand discoveries in the way of new flowers or fruits. Still, a careful monograph on a new moss would possess a certain interest and value. The interest of such an enquiry as that here undertaken lies in the fact that, of all the divisions of Japanese poetry, the epigram is the most thoroughly popular, national, therefore characteristic. By the investigator of the Japanese mind it can be studied almost as the subject-matter of a natural science can be studied, and it yields as its result a picture of the national character. We see this character at work while it is, so to say, at play:—we see it ingenious, witty, good-natured, much addicted to punning and to tom-foolery; we see it fanciful but not imaginative, clever but not profound; we see it joking on the gravest subjects; we see it taking life easily and trifles seriously; we see its minute observation of detail, its endless patience in accumulating materials, together with its incapacity for building with them; we see its knack for hinting rather than describing,—a knack which, when it becomes self-conscious, degenerates into a trick and is often carried past the limit of obscurity, not to say absurdity, as when a so-called drawing is so sketchy that the beholder cannot, with the best will in the world, tell whether what he is invited to look at be a rock or a bit of pine-bark. We see likewise the essentially democratic spirit of the nation, no less in the pell-mell choice or no choice of subjects, than in the manner in which all classes joined in the fun. We see that comparative weakness of the feeling for colour which characterises Japanese art reappearing here as a want of feeling for rhyme and rhythm and stanzaic arrangement, for all, in fact, that goes to

make up the colour of verse. Lastly,—and some may deem this the most curious feature of all,—we find a way of looking at nature which recalls the method of our own modern water-colour artists, and which thus constitutes a point of likeness and sympathy between ourselves and a vanished Japanese world of long ago. What, for instance, could be more absolutely modern than this vignette of Bashō's?—

(47)

Tombō ya
Tori-tsuki-kaneshi
Kusa no ue

A stem of grass, whereon in vain
A dragon-fly essayed to light!

Anyone strolling along a country lane at the proper season may verify for himself this minute fact in natural history, as some grass-stalks are too slender to afford foothold even to a dragon-fly. May not the Japanese epigram itself remind us of these frail objects? It appears, now as a tiny herb or flower on our path, now as some brilliant insect which hovers for a moment, and, ere we have well noticed it, flits away out of sight and memory.

ADDITIONAL SELECT EPIGRAMS.

In order to put the reader in touch with native taste, the choice of all the epigrams quoted in the present essay has been guided by native standards, such being preferred as have gained the admiration of the Japanese themselves. The translation aims, not only at being literal, but at preserving the spirit of each original,—poetical where it is poetical, prosaic (e.g. No. 61) where it is prosaic. The different poets are placed, as far as possible, in chronological order. The numerous specimens of Bashō's work are likewise so arranged.

EARLY EPIGRAMMATISTS.

(48)

Yo ni furu wa
Sara ni shigure no
Yadori kana

(Sōgi, 1421–1502)

Ah! yes, my passage through the world
Is a mere shelter from a shower.

The poet's death song. He compares brief human life to a momentary [illegible]. *Furu* contains a pun on "passing through" (the world) and [illegible]ing."

(49)

Tsuki ni e wo
Sashitaraba yoki
Uchiwa kana

(Sōkan)

Add but a handle to the moon,
And what a pretty fan it makes!

(50)

Cha no mizu no
Ware to futa suru
Kōri kana

(Sōkan, 1465–1554)

Behold the water for the tea
Make for itself a lid of ice!

(51)

Rakkwa eda ni
Kaeru to mireba
Kochō kana

(Arakida Moritake, 1472–1549)

Fall'n flow'r returning to the branch,—
Behold! it is a butterfly.

I.e. For a moment I fancied it to be a fallen petal flying back, by some miracle, to its native branch. But lo! it was a butterfly.

(52)

Samidare ni
Hi no ame majiru
Hotaru kana

(Arakida Moritake)

Oh! fireflies, what a fiery rain
Commingling with the summer shower!

(53)

Asagao ni
Kyō wa miyuran
Waga yo kana

(Arakida Moritake)

Ah! yes, as a convolvulus
To-day my lifetime will appear.

The poet's death song. Life is fleeting as the convolvulus, which blooms in the morning (*asa*) only to wither at eve. What the translation renders by "my lifetime" is literally "my world."

(54)

Kaze kezuru
Yanagi ya kishi no
Hitai-gami

(Arakida Moritake)

The willows which the breezes comb,
Are they the forelock of the bank?

The poet likens the catkins of the willow to a lady's tresses, and the wind to a comb. The "bank" is the bank of the river on which the willow-trees are growing. The modern critic Aeba Kōson considers this artificial verse highly characteristic of its composer.

(55)

Chi-nomi-ko ni
Yo wo watashitaru
Shiwasu kana

(Shōhaku, 1444–1527)

Oh! the December in which the heritage is handed on to a suckling!

This is a lament on the death of a man poor and in difficulties, who has left an infant heir. The end of the year is the season when debts and bills must be paid, and when poverty consequently presses hardest.

(56)

Nakazareba
Koroshite shimae
Hototogisu

Nobunaga.

The cuckoo,—kill it, if it sing not.

(57)

Nakazareba
Nakashite mishō
Hototogisu

Hideyoshi.

The cuckoo,—I will show it how to sing, if it sing not.

(58)

Nakazareba
Naku made matō
Hototogisu

Ieyasu.

The cuckoo,—I will wait till it sings, if it sing not.

These three epigrams, which have passed into household words, are not specially well-written, neither are they the composition of the three celebrated rulers whose names they bear. They are sometimes attributed to Shōha, an epigrammatist who died in the year 1600, and who meant to paint, each with a single graphic touch, the characters of the three heroes of his day,—Nobunaga, impetuous and cruel; Hideyoshi, clever; Ieyasu, patient, because well-knowing that, as we say, "All comes to him who waits." The empire came to him, and remained in the hands of his descendants for over two and a half centuries.

(59)

Haru tatsu ya
Ni-hon medetaki
Kado no matsu

When spring comes, the two pine-trees [stand] by the gate for luck.

(Saitō Tokugen, circa A.D. 1640.)

Or—for *ni-hon* contains a pun (二本 and 日本)—"When spring comes, the pine-trees by the gate bring luck to Japan,"—an allusion to the customary New Year decorations.

(60)

Manzai ya
Mau mo utau mo
Yoku no koto

(Baisei, 1611–1699)

Even the morris-dancers' steps
And songs spring from cupidity.

The desire for money rules all things, even what superficially looks like innocent mirth.

(61)

Masa-masa to
Imasu ga gotoshi
Tama-matsuri

(Kitamura Kigin, 1624–1711)

Serving the spirits of the dead
Exactly as if they were living.

These words are transcribed almost literally from a maxim in the "Confucian Analects."

(62)

Naku ni sae
Warawaba ikani
Hototogisu

(Mitsu-Jo, 1572–1647)

[So lovely] even in its cry,—
What were the cuckoo if it laughed?

Japanese, like English, employs the same word (*naku*, "to cry") for weeping and for the sounds uttered by birds and some other animals. Crying disfigures the countenance. If, then, the cuckoo enchants us even when it cries, what would not be the beauty of its smile or its laughter? A good example this of the conceits in which the epigrammatists before Bashō's reform took such delight.

(63)

Chō karoshi
Koro wa kiru mono
Hitotsu kana

(Koshun, 1650–1697)

Light goes the butterfly, what time
A single robe is all we don.

(64)

Yo no akete
Hana ni hiraku ya
Jōdo-mon

(Seibu, 1606–1678)

The daylight dawns, and, like a flower,
Open the gates of Paradise.

The poet's death song. *Jōdo*, literally, "the Pure Land," is one of the Buddhist heavens, fabled to exist in the West.

(65)

Tsuki hana no
San-ku-me wo ima
Shiru yo kana

(Rippo, 1600–1669)

The moon, the flow'rs, ah! now's the time
To learn the third name of the set.

The poet's death song. He alludes to the esthetic triad *tsuki hana yuki*, "the moon, the blossoms, and the snow," which are esteemed the loveliest things in nature. *Yuki*, "snow," however, is homonymous with *yuki*, "going," here taken in the sense of "dying":—it is not the snow, but death, which now comes to complete his experiences.

(66)

Oranda no
Moji ga yokotau
Ama tsu kari

(Nishiyama Sōin, 1605–1682)

The wild-geese in the firmament,—
These are Dutch letters sideways stretching.

The flight of the wild-geese athwart the sky suggests to the epigrammatist that outlandish method of communication practised by Europeans, who write across the page instead of up and down it, as the Chinese and Japanese consider natural. In those days any scrap of European writing would be the greatest rarity at the Japanese capital, and the mention of it in verse a daring novelty.

(67)

Yo no naka ya
Chōchō tomare
Kaku mo are

(Nishiyama Sōin)

Impossible to translate, owing to the punning insertion of two words which have no direct relation to the sense of the rest of the verse. The gist is: "The world is just what it is. It is an uncertain quantity. Don't take it—that is, don't take life—too seriously." Written across this

incipal assertion, as it were, are the words *Chōchō tomare*, "Butterfly, ght!" Besides adding the ornament of a pun, this graceful image lps to reinforce the assertion of the flimsy, flighty character of human life.

(68)

Shira-tsuyu ya
Mu-fumbetsu naru
Oki-dokoro.

(Nishiyama Sōin)

Lacking in all discernment as
To where they light are the white dews.

This is considered one of the best compositions of the leader of the Danrin school. His admiration of nature is conveyed in the form of portive blame:—instead of seeking out beautiful places, the dew shows so ittle discretion as to fall everywhere alike.

(69)

Natsu-yase to
Kotaete shinobu
Namida kana

(Nishiyama Sōin ?)

Alas! the tears which she restrains,
Saying the heat has made her thin.

Hiding grief under a pretence of illness. This epigram has passed nto a proverb.

(70)

Kaya-bara-ni
Oshi ya sute-oku
Tsuyu no tama

(Sute-Jo, 1635–1698)

Pity the dewy pearl be thrown
Away upon the grassy moor!

The poetess Sute-Jo was born at Kayabara (the name means "grassy moor") in Tamba, where the Daimyō of the province visited her and composed this complimentary epigram, which includes puns on her name and the name of her birthplace. Over thirty of Sute-Jo's friends—all nuns—used to follow her about in her wanderings.

(71)

Yuki no asa
Ni no ji ni no ji no
Geta no ato

(Sute-Jo)

A snowy morning,—everywhere
The figure " 2 " left by the clogs.

This epigram—a perfect specimen in its way—was composed by the poetess at the early age of six. Every resident in Japan has seen snow or mud or sand thus marked with the Chinese numeral 二 " two, " by the two underpieces of wood that support the clogs which are the commonest foot-gear among the townsfolk of this country.

(72)

Kado-matsu ya
Meido no tabi no
Ichi-ri-zuka

(Raizan, 1654–1716)

Literally, " The pine-trees by the gate [which are set up as New Year decorations] are mile-stones on the journey to the nether world. "—Some one added the following second hemistich:

Medetaku mo ari
Medetaku mo nashi

i.e. " they are both lucky and unlucky, "—a lucky omen on account of their connection with the New Year rejoicings, an unlucky one because of their marking a stage on the way to death. The lines are popularly thus quoted as a thirty-one syllable verse, and are erroneously ascribed to the priest Ikkyū Oshō.

(73)

Ike nurumu
Koro to ya uwo no
Atama-domo

The season when the pond grows warm,
To judge from all the fishes' heads.

A panting summer's day, with the fishes' heads at the surface of the water, gasping for breath.

(74)

Toshi kurenu
Kasa kite waraji
Haki-nagara

(Bashō, 1644–1694)

The year has closed while still I wear
My sandals and my pilgrim's hat.

Written on one of his many pilgrimages.

(75)

Yama-ji kite
Nani yori yukashi
Sumire-gusa

(Bashō)

Coming this mountain way, no herb
Is lovelier than the violet.

The Japanese violet, which possesses no fragrance, is "the meanest flower that blows." Bashō evinces his love of lowly natural objects by singling it out for mention. According to one commentator, however, the lines are metaphorical:—Bashō having, to his joy, met a Buddhist anchorite in the depths of the forest, compares him to the violet which shuns the sunlight.

(76)

Yoku mireba
Nazuna hana saku
Kakine kana

(Bashō)

On looking carefully, behold
The caseweed flowering near the fence!

Another example of his appreciation of humble natural objects.

(77)

Iza saraba
Yuki-mi ni korobu
Tokoro made

(Bashō)

Well then, we'll off to see the snow,
Far as we can without a tumble.

(78)

Hebi kuu to
Kikeba osoroshi
Kiji no koe

(Bashō)

When told that it will snakes devour,
How frightful is the pheasant's voice!

This epigram has become proverbial for beauty marred by misconduct.

(79)

Oki-yo oki-yo
Waga tomo ni sen
Nuru kochō

(Bashō)

Awake! awake! I'll make of thee
My comrade, sleeping butterfly.

(80)

Yagate shinu
Keshiki wa miezu
Semi no koe

(Bashō)

Nothing in the cicada's voice
Gives token of a speedy death.

This was Bashō's parting word to one who visited him in his hut by Lake Biwa. The implied meaning seems to be that human life is short and uncertain, despite present joy in scenes of beauty.

(81)

Tako-tsubo ya
Hakanaki yume wo
Natsu no tsuki

(Bashō)

As literally as a play upon words will permit (*natsu*, "summer," from hich *nasu*, "to do," is mentally supplied), this may be rendered, "Octopus t, aye! and a brief dream while the summer moon [is shining]." The topus pot is an earthenware vessel with a large opening, which is sunk the sea. The octopus, deeming it a quiet retreat, crawls inside it, and thus easily drawn up and caught. The creature's dream of happiness is ort. How dreamy, too, is its whole scarcely conscious existence! Equal- brief were the dream of one who should fall asleep on a moonlit ght in summer, when the nights are at their shortest. There is an im- ed comparison with the evanescence of human life:—man himself is e a moonbeam, like a fleeting dream, like a creature only half- nscious.

(82)

Omoshirōte
Yagate kanashiki
U-bune kana

(Bashō)

Oh! cormorant fishing-boat so gay,
And then again so melancholy!

The cormorants start off gaily; but their mirth is changed to melancholy ien the fish they have caught are forced from them by the fishermen o hold them in leash. This was composed in 1688, on passing through fu, which is still the locality where the curious method of fishing with e aid of tame cormorants may best be witnessed. See "Things Japa- se," s. v. "Cormorant Fishing."

(83)

Uki ware wo
Sabishigarase yo
Kanko-dori

(Bashō)

Cuckoo! for melancholy me
Oh! make still deeper loneliness.

(77)

Iza·saraba
Yuki-
Tokoro

...ie Bashō was ...
...vourite disciples.
...ancholy, and of leis...
...en his best-loved frie...

Well then, we'll ... *ya*
Far as we car *Sado ni yokotau*
Ama-no-gawa

(Bashō)

...rough sea, and the Milky Way
...tching across to Sado's isle.

...composed on the coast opposite Sado one starry night, whe... waves were running high and the loneliness of his pilgrimage oppre... his spirit.

(85)

Hiya-hiya to
Kabe wo fumaete
Hiru-ne kana

(Bashō)

Oh! those siestas, with my feet
Pressed fearsomely against the wall!

This verse and the next illustrate the poverty and simplicity of Bash... mode of life. So fragile is the mud wall of his hut that he fears to br... through it when pressing against it with his feet.

(86)

Ik-ka mina
Tsue ni shiraga no
Haka-mairi

(Bashō)

The household at the graves assembled,
White-haired, and leaning on their staves.

raves of ancestors at stated intervals is an act of piety pre-
rial custom. We here see a whole family of aged
do honour to those whom they themselves will soon
rld. The picture is more solemn than any other

(87)

Kumo ori-ori
Hito wo yasumeru
Tsuki-mi kana

(Bashō)

Oh! the moon-gazing where some clouds
From time to time repose the eye!

Even beauty is best appreciated when occasionally veiled.

(88)

Meigetsu ni
Hana ka to mieto
Wata-batake

(Bashō)

In the bright moonlight what appeared
Like flowers is a cotton field.

What he took for a grove of lovely cherry-blossom is but a common cotton plantation after all. Unpoetical as the fact is, he states it because it is a fact.

(89)

Yasu-yasu to
Idete izayou
Tsuki no kumo

(Bashō)

Oh! clouds about the moon, from whence
She falters forth so debonnair!

Composed on a rainy day in early summer, while Bashō was staying at Saga near Kyōto, in the house of one of his favourite disciples. What he means to express is his love of a *gentle* melancholy, and of leisure for communing with nature not intruded on by even his best-loved friends.

(84)

Ara-umi ya
Sado ni yokotau
Ama-no-gawa

(Bashō)

A rough sea, and the Milky Way
Stretching across to Sado's isle.

Composed on the coast opposite Sado one starry night, when the waves were running high and the loneliness of his pilgrimage oppressed his spirit.

(85)

Hiya-hiya to
Kabe wo fumaete
Hiru-ne kana

(Bashō)

Oh! those siestas, with my feet
Pressed fearsomely against the wall!

This verse and the next illustrate the poverty and simplicity of Bashō's mode of life. So fragile is the mud wall of his hut that he fears to break through it when pressing against it with his feet.

(86)

Ik-ka mina
Tsue ni shiraga no
Haka-mairi

(Bashō)

The household at the graves assembled,
White-haired, and leaning on their staves.

To visit the graves of ancestors at stated intervals is an act of piety prescribed by immemorial custom. We here see a whole family of aged persons assembled to do honour to those whom they themselves will soon follow to the other world. The picture is more solemn than any other that Bashō has left us.

(87)

Kumo ori-ori
Hito wo yasumeru
Tsuki-mi kana

(Bashō)

Oh! the moon-gazing where some clouds
From time to time repose the eye!

Even beauty is best appreciated when occasionally veiled.

(88)

Meigetsu ni
Hana ka to mieru
Wata-batake

(Bashō)

In the bright moonlight what appeared
Like flowers is a cotton field.

What he took for a grove of lovely cherry-blossom is but a common plantation after all. Unpoetical as the fact is, he states it because fact.

(89)

Yasu-yasu to
Idete izayou
Tsuki no kumo

(Bashō)

Oh! clouds about the moon, from whence
She falters forth-so-debonnair!

(90)

Nagaki hi wo
Saezuri-taranu
Hibari kana

(Bashō)

Oh! skylark for whose carolling
The livelong day sufficeth not!

(91)

Hototogisu
Koe yokotau ya
Mizu no ue

(Bashō)

Athwart the surface of the stream
There lieth stretched the cuckoo's voice.

The first redaction of this epigram was *Hito-koe no—E* (江) *ni yokotau ya—Hototogisu.* The translation is founded on both.

(92)

Hi no michi ya
Aoi katamuku
Satsuki-ame

(Bashō)

A rainy day in June, and yet
The sunflow'r bends to the sun's course.

(93)

Tsuku kane no
Hibiku yō nari
Semi no koe

(Bashō)

Like to the booming of a bell
When struck, is the cicadæ's voice.

(94)

Mizu-abura
Nakute neru yo ya
Mado no tsuki

(Bashō)

As, lacking oil, I lie abed
At night, the moon my window lights.

(95)

Kokono-tabi
Okite mo tsuki no
Nanatsu kana

(Bashō)

Despite that I have nine times risen,
'Tis but the fourth hour by the moon.

In Japanese, the "seventh" hour, their seven o'clock (old style) corresponding approximately to our 4 A. M. (see "Things Japanese," s. v. ime"). The poet has risen repeatedly to gaze at the beauteous moon, still the dawn comes not.

(96)

Mugi-meshi ni
Yatsururu koi ka
Neko no tsuma

(Bashō)

Is it hard fare, or is it love
That makes the cat's goodwife so lean?

The term *mugi-meshi*, here translated "hard fare," in order the better indicate the sense of the verse, is literally "rice mixed with ley." This dish is considered poor eating as compared with rice pure l simple, and is therefore often resorted to by the lower classes for nomy's sake.

(97)

Momiji ni wa
Taga oshie-keru
Sake no kan

(Kikaku, 1661–1707)

Who was it taught the maple-leaves
To heat the liquor in the bottle?

The allusion is to an old Chinese story—acted in another form on the Japanese stage—in which a fire is made of maple-leaves or twigs, to heat the *sake* for a carousal. It is related of this poet that at poetry meetings he was often drowsy from drink, but would wake suddenly and compose better verses than any of his competitors.

(98)

Ume ga ka ya
Tonari wa Ogyū
Sōemon

(Kikaku)

This more resembles an epigram, in the colloquial sense of that term, than any other of the Japanese "epigrams" quoted in the present collection. Kikaku, though afterwards famous as one of the "Ten Wits," was a mere lad when he composed it. He happened to live next door to no less a personage than the Confucianist Ogyū Sorai (Sōemon), the Dr. Johnson of his age and country. Most dwellers in a land where the proprieties, and above all erudition, were so highly honoured, would have trembled in his presence. Kikaku merely indited the above impertinent verse, which says that "The perfume of the plum-blossom (i.e. estheticism, as represented by himself) has for its neighbour one Ogyū Sōemon." The poetical diction of the first line, and the flat prose of the rest form a witty, but untranslatable, contrast.

(99)

Yari-kurete
Mata ya samushiro
Toshi no kure

(Kikaku)

For all my contriving, here I am again at the end of the year with [nothing but] my strip of matting.

This poet's wild Bohemian life often caused him to be out-at-elbows.

(100)

Kiraretaru
Yume wa makoto ka
Nomi no ato

(Kikaku)

Is my dream true? Am I cut down?
Or was I bitten by a flea?

(101)

Nikumarete
Nagarōru hito
Fuyu no hai

(Kikaku)

A man who is disliked, and who
Lives to old age,—a winter fly.

Disagreeable folks live longest.

(102)

Yū-suzumi
Yoku zo otoko ni
Umare-keru

(Kikaku)

Taking the cool at eve, I do
Rejoice that I was born a man.

Because men are—and more especially were in Old Japan—allowed much greater freedom in the matter of *négligé* garments than is permitted to the other sex.

(103)

Gwanjitsu ya
Harete suzume no
Mono-gatari

(Ransetsu, 1654–1707)

Aye! New Year's day, with a clear sky,
And conversation among the sparrows!

Bashō declared that, as an epigram for New Year's day, this could not be improved upon, and modern critics endorse his judgment. Remember that the Japanese New Year, till the reform of the calendar in 1873, generally fell about the middle of February, when spring is really in view. We in England place the birds' wedding on St. Valentine's Day, 14th February.

(104)

Ume ichi-rin
Ichi-rin hodo no
Atatakasa

(Ransetsu)

[Slowly] it mildens, as the plum
[Ventureth forth,] blossom by blossom.

The plum-blossom is the earliest of all the flowers of spring, coming out, in fact, while the snow is still on the ground.—For *hodo*, some read *tsutsu*.

(105)

Hana ni kaze
Karoku kite fuke
Sake no awa

(Ransetsu)

Come, breeze, and lightly blow upon
The flowers,—bubbles in the wine!

Apparently the poet's request to the zephyr is that it shall at the same time gently move the blossoms so as to spread their fragrance, and waft to the other side of the cup the bubbles of the wine which he is drinking.

(106)

Hyaku-giku soroe-keru ni:

On a chrysanthemum show (literally, on a hundred chrysanthemums assembled).

Ki-giku shira-giku
Sono hoka no na wa
Naku mogana

(Ransetsu)

Yellow chrysanthemums, white chrysanthemums;—
Would there were no more names than these!

This verse, though irregular in metre, is considered a perfect specimen of the epigrammatic style. Japanese gardeners, like our own, bestow some fanciful name on every artificial variety of flower produced by their art. The poet, impatient of these, wishes that there should be no other names—perhaps no other flowers—than the natural white and yellow.

(107)

Kiku sakeri
Chō kite asobe
Enogu-zara

(Ransetsu)

The asters bloom. Come butterflies,
And dally o'er the colour dish!

The exigencies of metre must be our excuse for writing "asters" instead of "chrysanthemums." These flowers are here likened to a painter's palette.

(108)

Junrei ni
Uchi-majiri-yuku
Ki-gan kana

(Ransetsu)

Behold the wild-geese wending homeward,
Mingled with the pilgrim bands!

A picture of two simultaneous processions,—the homeward-bound pilgrims on solid earth, and the wild-geese in the sky above them. The flights of wild-geese—northward in spring, southward in autumn—are among the most characteristic sights of the Japanese landscape.

(109)

Omoshirō
Fuji ni sujikau
Hana-no kana

(Ransetsu)

Oh! flowery moor, stretching athwart
Mount Fuji's slope so pleasantly!

The luxuriance of the wild-flowers on Fuji's lower slope—especially on the western and southern sides—in the month of August, is astonishing.

(110)

Shiri-bito ni
Awaji awaji to
Hana-mi kana

(Kyorai, 1651–1704)

No friends, oh! let me meet no friends
When I am gazing at the flowers!

(111)

Nani-goto zo
Hana miru hito no
Naga-gatana

(Kyorai)

A sabre! what has such to do
On one who comes to view the flowers?

Because esthetics and war agree ill together.

(112)

Kokoro naki
Daikwanjo ya
Hototogisu

(Kyorai)

The heartless Government Office,—ay! and the cuckoo.

A humorous juxtaposition of incongruities.

(113)

Isogashi ya
Oki no shigure no
Ma-ho kata-ho

(Kyorai)

What haste! a shower in the offing,
And sails set straight, and sails set slant.

A vignette of a fleet of junks caught in a sudden squall. The sailors shown running hither and thither, and trimming the sails, now to set ir craft running before the wind, and anon to put her on the port or board tack.

(114)

Tsuki-mi sen
Fushimi no shiro no
Sute-gurewa

(Kyorai)

I will contemplate from Fushimi's
Abandoned castle-grounds the moon.

Fushimi near Kyōto was the site of Hideyoshi's great castle palace of moyama, the most splendid edifice ever reared on Japanese soil. It was en over to the flames soon after its builder's death.

(115)

Yū-gure ya
Hage-narabitaru
Kumo no mine

(Kyorai)

'Tis evening, and in serried file
Stand the bare pinnacles of cloud.

(116)

Uki tomo ni
Kamarete neko no
Sora nagame

(Kyorai)

Bit by a sorry mate, the cat
Intently gazes at the sky.

Crossed in love, the tom-cat gazes sentimentally at the firmament.

(117)

Iku-tari ka
Shigure kake-nuku
Seta no hashi

(Jōsō, 1663–1704)

How many may be hurrying through
The drizzle on the Bridge of Seta?

The immensely long Bridge of Seta, near Lake Biwa, is a favourite theme with the poets and artists of Japan. Here its length is suggested by the mention of a countless multitude.

(118)

No mo yama mo
Yuki ni torarete
Nani mo nashi

(Jōsō)

Nothing remaineth; for the snow
Hath blotted out both moor and hill.

(119)

Kitsutsuki no
Kare-ki sagasu ya
Hana no naka

(Jōsō)

What! mid the flowers the woodpecker
Is seeking out a withered tree.

Highly unesthetic of the bird to neglect the blossoms and prefer a withered trunk.

(120)

Nuke-gara ni
Narabite shinuru
Aki no semi

(Jōsō)

In autumn a cicada dead
Beside the shell that it cast off.

Autumn, a cicada's cast-off shell, even the cicada itself dead,—a set of ary images typical of the nothingness of human fate.

(121)

Mina-soko no
Iwa ni ochi-tsuku
Ko no ha kana

(Jōsō)

Behold the leaf that sinks and clings
Below the water to a rock!

The observation of a tiny fact in nature. So is the next; for any ful eye will have noted the amusingly knowing look on the face of ack when raising its head after a dive.

(122)

Mina-soko wo
Mite kita kao no
Ko-gamo kana

(Jōsō)

The teal, with face fresh from the sight
Of what below the water lies.

(123)

Kyū no ten
Hinu ma mo samushi
Haru no kaze

(Kyoroku, died 1715)

Literally, "Cold, too, is the interval before the moxa dots dry,—spring breeze."

This verse is here quoted because it refers to a curious custom, for which see "Things Japanese," s.v. "Moxa," adding to the account there given the following particulars:—The usual plan is for the patients to disrobe to the waist, before the chief practitioner—often a Buddhist priest, as the scene, too, is often a Buddhist temple—marks in sepia on their persons the spots that are to be treated. They then remove to another apartment, round which they squat in a line, while the priest's disciple or acolyte goes from one to another applying the cautery to each in turn, one dot at a time, so that if a patient has several spots to be burnt, there is at least an interval between the steps of his torture. It is of course a chilly process from beginning to end, as the patient has to sit half-naked.

(124)

Kata-eda ni
Myaku ya kayoite
Ume no hana

(Shikō, 1665–1731)

Plum-blossoms! is it that the sap
Still courses through that single branch?

The subject of this epigram was doubtless a plum-tree, all whose branches save one were dead.

(125)

Shira-kumo ya
Kakine wo wataru
Yuri no hana

(Shikō)

Oh! the white clouds! nay, rather blossoms,—
Lilies that bend across the fence.

The poet likens his neighbour's lilies to white clouds.

(126)

Uki koi ni
Taete ya neko no
Nusumi-gui

(Shikō)

Weary perhaps of dolorous love,
The cat has stol'n a bit to eat.

(127)

Neko no koi
Shote kara naite
Aware nari

(Yaha, 1663–1740)

A cat's amours :—from the beginning
He caterwauls; he's to be pitied.

(128)

Chōmatsu ga
Oya no na de kuru
Gyokei kana

(Yaha)

Lo! Johnny, in his father's name,
Come to present congratulations!

Namely, on New Year's Day. Aeba Kōson singles out this verse for praise. pictures to us the self-importance of the little fellow, dressed in best and charged with so ceremonious a mission.

(129)

Haki-sōji
Shite kara tsubaki
Chiri ni keri

(Yaha)

After I've swept and tidied up,
Adown fall some camellias.

He has been getting his villa ready for a poetry meeting; but when seemed finished, some camellias suddenly tumble from thei stalks on to garden path, and make the place look untidy. This peculiarity of the mellia is referred to by several poets;—, for instance in No. 169.

(130)

Uguisu ya
Kado wa tana-tana
Tōfu-uri

(Yaha)

The nightingale and, at the gate,
The unexpected bean-curd vendor.

The advent of the petty tradesman just as the nightingale is singing makes a humorous contrast.

(131)

Yuku kumo wo
Nete ite miru ya
Natsu-zashiki

(Yaha)

A summer room where, lying down,
I see the clouds as they go past.

The poet, taking his siesta on a July afternoon, watches the clouds float lazily across the sky.

(132)

Yake ni keri
Saredomo hana wa
Chiri-sumashi

(Hokushi, died 1718.)

I am burnt out. Nevertheless,
The flow'rs have duly bloom'd and faded.

The first line of the English rendering is absolutely literal, including the prosaic work "nevertheless." The words corresponding to the second line say literally no more than that "The flowers have fallen unconcernedly;" but the sense is as here given. The story goes that Hokushi's house having been burnt down one day, his friends flocked to present their condolences. But he, like a true Bohemian, only laughed, and sent them away with this epigram. Its gist is that so trifling a matter, which did not interfere with the course of nature, was not worth a second thought.

(133)

Meigetsu ya
Yo akuru kiwa mo
Nakari-keri

(Etsujin, dates uncertain.)

A brilliant moon! there was no marge
Betwixt it and the dawn of day.

On such nights, the brightness of moonlight passes into the brightness of sunlight without our being able to tell where night ends and day begins.

(134)

Ame no tsuki
Doko to mo nashi ni
Usu-akari

(Etsujin)

A rainy moon, and everywhere
Alike a faint irradiation.

The poet's theme is that universal pale light, coming none can tell whence, which suffuses the sky on a night which ought to be moonlit, but is rainy.

(135)

Yama-dera ni
Kome tsuku oto no
Tsuki-yo kana

(Etsujin)

Oh! moonlight, with the sound of rice
A-pounding in the mountain temple!

Moonlight nights are often availed of by thrifty householders for pounding rice.

(136)

Eri-maki ni
Kubi hiki-irete
Fuyu no tsuki

(Sugiyama Sampū, 1648–1733)

Moonlight in winter, and I draw
My neck within my comforter.

The substitution of this homely detail for the conventional raptures on the moon produces a humorous effect.

(137)

Ko ya matan
Amari hibari no
Taka-agari

(Sugiyama Sampū)

Oh! how its young ones must be waiting,—
For all too high ascends the lark!

(138)

Shigure-keri
Hashiri-iri-keri
Hare ni keri

(Izembō, died 1710.)

A shower came, and so I came
Running indoors; then blue sky came.

Born rich, this poet despised wealth, and spent his time strolling about in tattered peasant's garb, reciting verses. His diction was eccentric too, specially affecting the repetition of some single word.

(139)

Omotasa no
Yuki haraedomo
Haraedomo

(Izembō)

Oh! what a heavy weight of snow,
Sweep as you may, sweep as you may!

These words are not to be taken literally. The poet sent them to his daughter as an epigram on worldly vanities.

(140)

Kami-sori ya
Ichi-ya ni sabite
Satsuki-ame

(Hanchō, dates uncertain.)

My razor, in a single night,
Is rusted by the rains of June.

(141)

Yo no naka wa
Sekirei no o no
Hima mo nashi

(Hanchō)

The movement of the world of men
Is ceaseless as the wagtail's tail.

The bad assonance of "wagtail's tail" does not disfigure the original Japanese.

(142)

Iza sakura
Omoi-tatsu hi wa
Kumoru to mo

(Ryōto, 1660–1717)

Off to the cherry-flow'rs! the day
Was fix'd;—and what, though it be cloudy?

(143)

Waga nari mo
Aware ni miyuru
Kare-no kana

(Chigetsu-ni, 1634–1706)

Alas! the withered moor, whereon
My figure, too, looks pitiful.

This poetess had become a nun after her husband's death:—hence the parison between the desolate autumn moor and her own poor garb. she and her son Osshū were pupils of Bashō. They belonged to the Biwa school properly so-called, being born at Ōtsu on its shores.

(144)

Mugi-wara no
Ie shite yaran
Ama-gaeru

(Chigetsu-ni)

I'll take some barley straw and make
A house for you, little green frog!

"Green frog" is in Japanese literally, "nun frog," so that the bond between the poetess and her *protégé* was one of name as well as of kindliness.

(145)

Kore de koso
Inochi oshikere
Sakura-bana

(Chigetsu-ni)

The cherry-flow'rs! for them alone
Is it that life is dear to me.

(146)

Umi yama no
Tori naki-tatsuru
Fubuki kana

(Chigetsu-ni)

Oh! snowstorm, at whose blast the birds
Begin to cry o'er sea and hill!

(147)

Nen itte
Fuyu kara tsubomu
Tsubaki kana

(Kyokusui, died 1720.)

How carefully begin to bud
In winter the camellia-trees!

The buds of the camellia are singularly long in forming.

(148)

Yūdachi ya
Chie sama-zama no
Kaburi-mono

(Otsuyū, died 1739.)

A show'r, and skill of every sort
In things to put upon the head.

A vignette of people caught in the rain:—one bethinks him perhaps his fan, another shelters his head with his long pendent sleeve, etc., This verse, familiar to all Japanese, excellently illustrates the light graphic touch proper to the epigram.

(149)

Hate wa mina
Ōgi no hone ya
Aki no kaze

(Otsuyū)

All come at last to be a fan's
Old sticks when blows the autumn breeze.

We all grow old, as a fan does, which is in constant request during summer heat, but gets torn and is reduced to little but its sticks by time the autumn breeze begins to blow. The Japanese talk, not of the icks," but of the "bones" of a fan, which makes the comparison of a 1 old man to a dilapidated fan still more natural.

(150)

Nani tori no
Kono ato naku zo
Hototogisu

(Otsuyū)

He was the cuckoo. Say what other
Bird may sing now he is gone.

Such is the sense, though, literally translated, the words are only, What bird will sing indeed after this?—cuckoo!" This was an elegy

on the poet Ryōto, head of the Ise school. It was considered so beautiful that the headship of the school was forthwith bestowed upon its composer.

(151)

Mikazuki ni
Fuka no atama wo
Kakushi-keri

(Shidō, dates uncertain.)

There, by the crescent moon, the shark
Has hid his head [beneath the wave].

LATER EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

(152)

Haka-bara ya
Aki no hotaru no
Futatsu mitsu

(Edo-za School)

A cemetery.....
And autumn fireflies two or three.

This was a true "epigram," being an inscription on the picture of a skeleton. Fireflies chiefly haunt dark and lonely places:—hence their mention in the present context.

(153)

Asa-shimo ya
Tsue de e-gakishi
Fuji no yama

(Edo-za School)

The morning hoar-frost, and Mount Fuji
Drawn on it with my walking-stick.

(154)

Hana ga iu
Shibai mite kuru
Hito nikushi

(Josen, died 1715.)

The blossoms say, "We hate the folks
Who come here from the theatre."

A contrast between nature and the Philistinism of artificial amusements. Remember that in Old Japan so strong a taint of vulgarity attached to the drama that no *Samurai* ever entered a playhouse,—at any rate openly.

(155)

Mishi yume no
Samete mo iro no
Kakitsubata

(Shūshiki, 1683–1728)

The dream I dreamt has faded, but
The iris keeps its colours yet.

That is, though I die, the world remains.—The poetess's death song.

(156)

Aru hodo no
Date shi-tsukushite
Kami-ko kana

(Sono-Jo, 1665–1726)

Who carried foppery to extremes
Alas! now wears a paper coat.

The miserable end of empty-headedness and extravagance.

(157)

Ōta ko ni
Kami naburaruru
Atsusa kana

(Sono-Jo)

Such heat that, when the child I bear
Upon my back plays with my hair,.....

A picture of intense summer heat, which the slightest touch of another makes unendurable.

(158)

Nui-mono ya
Ki mo sede yogosu
Satsuki-ame

(Anonymous)

Embroideries not e'en yet worn
Are tarnished by the rains of June.

(159)

Mono-sugo ya
Ara omoshiro no
Kaeri-bana

(Onitsura, 1661–1738)

Uncanny and yet pleasing are
These flow'rs that blossom out of time.

This poet has a great reputation, some going so far as to assert that he unites the excellencies of all the schools. Bashō and he knew and respected each other, and Onitsura arrived independently at very much the same conclusions as Bashō did. As early as 1685, he wrote: "Apart from truth, no poetry. All the rules hitherto obeyed lack reality. Truth must ever be the aim, though if one were to follow truth slavishly, something alien to truth would result.....Though the words may be shallow, the sense must be deep.....Consider not whether a style be antique or modern:—the modern will become old; the old is ever new."—Onitsura was evidently a vigorous thinker and a sane critic. Pity that fate had not given him a wider field to work in. That he really penetrated below the surface of things to the *lacrimæ rerum*, is shown by such epigrams as Nos. 162–164, while No. 160 displays his delicate sense of humour.

(160)

Natsu wa mata
Fuyu ga mashi ja to
Iware-keri

(Onitsura)

And in the summer, folks opined
That winter was to be preferred.

(161)

Nyoppori to
Aki no sora naru
Fuji no yama

(Onitsura)

Without a word of warning, there,
In th' autumn sky, Mount Fuji stands.

(162)

Gaikotsu no
Ue wa yosōte
Hana-mi kana

(Onitsura)

Oh! flower-gazers, who have decked
The surface of their skeletons!

This was composed on seeing some magnificently dressed ladies and gentlemen gazing at the blossoms.

(163)

Mata hitotsu
Hana ni tsure-yuku
Inochi kana

(Onitsura)

Together with one blossom more,
Oh! life, thou goest on thy way.

This was composed on seeing some falling blossoms.

(164)

Saku kara ni
Miru kara ni hana no
Chiru kara ni

(Onitsura)

They blossom forth, and so I gaze,
And so these flowers fade, and so.....

Composed on seeing some luxuriantly blossoming flowers. The world is a round of perpetual change, and all phenomena are evanescent.

(165)

Oi no aki
Ake mutsu wo kiku
Omoshirosa

(Ritō, died 1755.)

The old man's autumn, who with joy
Hears the six strokes that tell the dawn.

Old people who, sleeping little, weary for the daylight, rejoice when
: stroke of six on the temple bell announces that morning has at length
ne after the long autumn night. There is an implied comparison of old
: to the autumn season.

(166)

Hana no yume
Kikitaki chō ni
Koe mo nashi

(Reikan, dates uncertain.)

It has no voice,—the butterfly,
Whose dream of flow'rs I fain would learn.

Suggested by a butterfly asleep upon a blossom. But the "butterfly's
am of flowers" was already mentioned in ancient times by the mysti-
Chinese philosopher Chwang Tzu.

(167)

Sendō no
Kenkwa wa sunde
Kawazu kana

(Yūya, dates uncertain.)

And when the boatmen have made up
Their quarrel, oh! then 'tis the frogs.

Noise succeeding to noise.

(168)

Tomarite mo
Tsubasa wa ugoku
Kochō kana

(Ryūbai, dates uncertain.)

Oh! little butterfly, with wings
Still moving even when it lights!

(169)

Chiru made mo
Chiranu keshiki wo
Tsubaki kana

(Shosei, dates uncertain.)

Oh! the camellia, which ne'er
Appears like dropping till it drops.

An instance of minute observation:—the blossom of the camellia, without withering, is apt to startle one by suddenly falling to the ground. The Japanese sometimes, therefore, compare it to a decapitated head.

(170)

Hyaku-nari ya
Tsuru hito-suji no
Kokoro yori

(Chiyo, 1703–1775)

This is a poetical rendering of the Buddhist text 萬法唯一心 Iti, "myriad devices simply one heart," which means that one intention will manifest itself in innumerable forms, one misconception will lead to innumerable errors, etc., etc. A text of kindred import, which the poetess perhaps had in mind, is 發心一念三千 to be freely paraphrased as "Religion is one, forms are many." This difficult epigram is here given on account of its celebrity, and also because it is typical of a class. In the impossibility of translating it literally, the following must suffice as an approximation:—

A hundred tendrils, yea! and all
From the same vine that is their heart.

Another reading for *hyaku-nari* is *sen-nari*, the name of a species of climbing gourd or calabash, which is commonly grown on a trellis to support the quantities of pendent fruit.

(171)

Hiru-gao ya
Dochira no tsuyu mo
Ma ni awazu

(Yokoi Yayū, 1702–1783)

Alas! the noon convolvulus,
That neither dew may aught avail!

The *asa-gao* (lit. "morning face," called in America the "morning ry," in England "convolvulus") is washed by the morning dew; similarly *yū-gao* (lit. "evening face") by the dews of eve. But what of the *u-gao* ("midday face")? What can *it* rely on for its refreshment?

(172)

Yama-dera no
Yo-ake ya kane ni
Chiru karasu

(Yokoi Yayū)

A temple on a hill, whose bell
At break of day startles the rooks.

(173)

Bake-mono no
Shōtai mitari
Kare-obana

(Yokoi Yayū)

I've seen the bogie's veritable
Shape:—it's merely withered grass.

I had taken it for a goblin, and lo! it was nothing but a clump of t eulalia grass which grows man-high on the Japanese hill-sides, with nds that look like beckoning hands.—This epigram, originally aimpe at eacher whose great reputation did not maintain itself on closer ac- uintance, has become proverbial for disenchantment.

(174)

Mijika-yo ya
Ware ni wa nagaki
Yume samenu

(Yokoi Yayū)

Is life then short? This dream of mine
Seems long enough that now has faded.

The poet's death song.

(175)

Uguisu ya
Kanai sorōte
Meshi-jibun

(Buson, 1716–1783)

The nightingale and—dinner-time,
With the whole family assembled.

A humorous contrast of the esthetic and the commonplace.

(176)

Kwaikyū

(Memories of the Past.)

Osoki hi no
Tsumorite tōki
Mukashi kana

(Buson)

Oh! distant past, made up of slow
But ever accumulating days!

(177)

Soko-soko ni
Kyō mi-sugoshinu
Tanishi-uri

(Buson)

The snail-man, hurrying along,
Saw not the city which he traversed.

Others come to gaze at the metropolis. The poor vendor of edible snails hurries along without seeing its wonders, and then trudges home again,—a picture of the hard life of the poor.

(178)

Ika-nobori
Kinō no sora no
Ari-dokoro

(Buson)

kite flies in the self-same spot
cy where yesterday it flew.

these lines mean nothing more than that the kite is being
r where it was flown yesterday, they have obtained great praise
e of combined ingenuity and simplicity.

(179)

Haru-same ya
Mono-gatari-yuku
Mino to kasa

(Buson)

ow'r in spring, where an umbrella
rain-coat walk along conversing.

rous sketch this of two pedestrians, of whom the spectator,
m probably from behind, sees nothing but their outer pro-
nst the weather.

(180)

Uzumi-bi ya
Tsui ni wa nicru
Nabe no mono

(Buson)

smothered coals and, at long last,
gruel simmering in the pot.

e see pourtrayed some recluse sitting up on a winter's night
er, at which with difficulty he cooks his simple meal. The
e the prominence given to the word *uzumi-bi*, "ash-smothered

(181)

Uguisu no
Koe tōki hi mo
Kure ni keri

(Buson)

: is the long spring day, wherein
nightingale did sing afar.

(182)

Machi-bito no
Ashi-oto tōki
Ochi-ba kana

(Buson)

How distant on the fallen leaves
His footstep sounds for whom I wait!

(183)

Mizu-tori ya
Kare-ki no naka ni
Kago ni-chō

(Buson)

Some water-fowl, and in the midst
Of withered trees two palanquins.

Fourteen pages of discussion are devoted in the commentary to this thumb-nail sketch of a desolate scene!—Was there any one in the palanquins? Were they run-away lovers? Were the bearers there, or had *they* run away? Is the scene laid on the border of a marsh? &c., &c.

(184)

Fugu-jiru no
Ware ikite iru
Ne-zame kana

(Buson)

Poison-fish soup last night, yet lo!
I wake to find myself alive.

The *fugu* is a delicious, yet often highly poisonous, fish of the genus *Tetrodon*, whence a proverbial saying to which this epigram makes allusion: *Fugu wa kuitashi, inochi wa oshishi*, "I want to eat poison-fish, yet I grudge my life."

(185)

Hana ni yōte
Kacrusa nikushi
Shira-byōshi

(Buson)

The flow'rs have made me drunk:—I loathe
The singing-girls on my way home.

The idea is closely similar to that of No. 154:—natural beauty disgusts one with meretricious charms (and in this case the word "meretricious" may be taken in its literal sense).

(186)

Hana ni kite
Hana ni inemu
Itoma kana

(Buson)

Coming to see the flow'rs, I sleep
Beneath the flowers, being free.

The commentators praise the delicate esthetic feeling here displayed by the poet, who, instead of vulgarly profiting by every moment of time to gaze at the blossoms, contrariwise rested and wasted some of it, as he had the leisure; for thus may beauty penetrate more deeply into the soul.

(187)

Ara muzukashi no kana-zukai ya na! Jigi ni gai arazumba, aa mama yo!

Ume sakinu
Dore ga mume yara
Ume ja yara

(Buson)

"Oh! what a hard thing is orthography! If there be no injury to the sense, let us spell as we like!"—After these introductory words in prose, the poem goes on to say literally: "The plum-tree is in blossom. Which [blossoms] are *mume*, and which *ume*?" (Different ways of spelling the Japanese word signifying "plum-blossom.") We are reminded of the saying, "The rose by any other name would smell as sweet." Japanese spelling, after centuries of neglect, was beginning to be discussed and correctness insisted on in Buson's time, which, curiously enough, synchronised with the period when Dr. Johnson fixed our own English orthography.

(188)

Samidare ya
Aru yo hisoka ni
Matsu no tsuki

(Ryōta, 1719–1787)

In the June rains, as if by stealth,
One night the moon shines through the pines.

Ryōta, the third head of the Setsumon School and author of no less than sixty works, was one of the most famous of the eighteenth century revivalists. The epigram here quoted has the honour of being the only one that ever attracted Chinese notice, and was paraphrased into that language. The paraphrase is as follows:—

長夏草堂寂　連宵聽雨眠　何時歸明月　松影落庭前

i.e. literally, "'Tis midsummer, and my grass hut is dreary; every evening I fall asleep to the sound of rain. Suddenly the moon hangs [in the sky]; and the shadow of the pine-tree falls on my garden."

(189)

Meigetsu ya
Umare-kawaraba
Mine no matsu

(Ryōta)

Oh! moon, if born again, I'd be
A pine-tree on a mountain peak.

In order to be the first to behold the moon rise. Remember that, to the Japanese, the moon is the loveliest of all natural objects, solitary and incomparable. No sunset, no rainbow, no stars of heaven share her praise here, as they do in Western lands.

(190)

Roku-gwatsu ya
Itaru tokoro mina
Yu no nagare

(Rankō, 1728–1799)

'Tis July, and on every side
Nothing but rivers of hot water.

This was composed at the sulphur baths of Kusatsu, the strongest and among the hottest in the world. See Murray's "Japan Handbook" for a description of the curious method of bathing under a quasi-military discipline which is there pursued.

(191)

Aka-aka to
Shimo kōri-keri
Soba no kuki

(Rankō)

To ice all crimson red has frozen
The rime upon the buckwheat stems.

This is one of the numerous class of epigrams testifying to observation of minute facts in nature:—the thin crimson stems of the buckwheat may be seen cased in ice on some day or other almost every winter, at least in the uplands.

(192)

Kare-ashi no
Hi ni hi ni orete
Nagare-keri

(Rankō)

The withered reeds, that day by day
Break off, are floated down the stream.

(193)

Mutsu Dono no
Suzumi-dai nari
Chi-Matsushima

(Gyōtai, 1731–1791)

On Matsushima's thousand isles
The Lord of Mutsu takes the cool.

Mutsu is the name of the province off whose coast lies the little pine-clad archipelago of Matsushima, famous for its beauty.

(194)

Ama tsutau
Hoshi no hikari ya
Naku chidori

(Gyōtai)

Where shine the stars that wend along
The heav'ns, there doth the sea-gull cry.

This is to be interpreted allegorically. The poet—a mere wandering *Samurai*—had been summoned to the Court of Kyōto. Accordingly he likens himself to a sea-gull,—a common, worthless bird,—and his new surroundings to the glorious starry vault.

(195)

Uguisu wo
Modosu-na ume ni
Kakine shite

(Shirō, 1736–1812)

Around the plum-flow'rs make a fence,
To stay the nightingale's return.

A nightingale had actually come and perched upon a plum-tree in the poet's garden. He would fain resort to violence to prevent its flying home.

(196)

Inazuma ya
Etsujin to ni-ji
Kaku ma naki

(Etsujin, 1760–1836.)

A flash of lightning, and no time
To write the one word "Etsujin."

The point of this epigram lies in the extreme simplicity of the characters with which the name "Etsujin" is written, namely 日人 which any one could dash off in an instant of time.—This poet is to be distinguished from his namesake (one of the "Ten Wits," see pp. 296 and 337), whose name is written 越人.

(297)

Ware to kite
Asobe ya oya no
Nai suzume

(Issa, 1763–1827)

You little sparrows left without
A mother, come and play with me.

This is said to have been composed by Issa at the age of five, when he had just lost his own mother.

(198)

Nan no sono
Hyaku-man-goku mo
Sasa no tsuyu

(Issa)

What then? what are his million bales?
Mere dewdrops on the bamboo grass.

The circumstances under which this verse was composed may serve to illustrate the oddity and independence of spirit which characterised, not this poet only, but many of his brother epigrammatists. The Lord of Kaga, richest of all the Daimyōs, whose revenue was assessed at a million bales of rice, summoned Issa to his presence one day; but the latter refused to go. Thereupon, the Daimyō despatched his henchman with a gold-lacquered box containing His Highness's album, to request the favour of Issa's autograph. This, likewise, Issa at first refused; but being at length over-persuaded, he took his own cheap broken ink-slab, moistened the Indian ink stick with his saliva, and penned a line of poetry as required. "If you don't like it, you can tear it up," said he, on being remonstrated with for his rudeness. The Daimyō, by no means displeased, sent him ten gold coins in acknowledgment; but Issa could only with difficulty be persuaded to keep three shillings, the amount of his rent. Later on, the Daimyō presented him with a beautiful sandal-wood ink-box; but Issa was so much wearied by the visitors who flocked to gaze at it that he handed it over gratis to a curio-dealer, who took it to Yedo and sold it for several hundred dollars. Issa, himself absolutely indifferent to money, composed the above epigram as a vent to his feelings on the

occasion. While his philosophy was strictly practical, his compassion for all living creatures was so profound that he demurred even to killing a flea. His style, though it could rise into the classical on an occasion, was for the most part colloquial, as in No. 200.

(199)

Yase-kawazu
Makeru-na Issa
Kore ni ari

(Issa)

Emaciated frog! be not
Worsted in fight:—Issa is here.

(200)

Yare! naku-na
Sore hodo buji de
Kaeru kari

(Issa)

Hallo! you shouldn't cry, you storks,
Returning home so safe and sound!

(201)

Kaerusa no
Yū-hi-zakura ya
Mune ni tsue

(Sō-a, dates uncertain.)

A typical example of the class of Japanese epigrams most difficult to translate. The words are literally, "Home-going's evening sun cherry-trees, and staff to chest." The picture is that of some aged man, who, having spent the day among the cherry-blossoms, is now returning home, but, rapt by the beauty of the sunset glow upon the flowers, remains gazing at it, his body bent and leaning on his staff. Something like the following may serve as an approximate rendering:—

Cherry-flowers sunset-lit:—I turn
And gaze, my breast upon my staff.

(202)

Sei daseba
Kōru ma mo nashi
Mizu-guruma

(Keirin, dates uncertain.)

If but the wheel be diligent,
The water has no time to freeze.

This verse has become proverbial for industry.

(203)

Uguisu ya
Hana naki ki ni wa
Oranu hazu

(Gomei, dates uncertain.)

Of course the nightingale stays not
Upon a tree bereft of flowers.

The elderly poet composed this epigram on calling to see his mistress and finding her abroad. A pretty young woman could not be expected, he suggests, to care for a withered gallant like himself.

(204)

Koi-shinaba
Waga tsuka de nake
Hototogisu

Cuckoo! if I should die of love,
Oh! [come and] sing upon my tomb!

Composed by a courtesan in the Yoshiwara at Yedo, who, having been slandered to her lover, was abandoned by him and reduced to despair.

(205)

Kuchi akeba
Go-zō no miyuru
Kawazu kana

(Anon.)

Behold the frog, who, when he opes
His mouth, displays his whole inside!

Proverbial in the sense of "Do not blurt out all your secret thoughts."—The term *go-zō*, here rendered the "whole inside," is literally the "five viscera."

The literature of the Japanese epigram is voluminous and constantly growing. The following works have been consulted in the preparation of the foregoing essay:—

連俳小史 "*Rempai Shōshi*," by M. Sasa, one thin vol., 1887, deals with the history of *Haikai* and *Renga*.

俳諧史傳 "*Haikai Shiden*," by S. Okonogi and M. Nunokawa, 1 vol., 1884, gives short biographies of all the principal epigrammatists, with specimens of their work, following chronological order according to schools.

俳句評釋 "*Haiku Hyōshaku*," by Katō Heki-godō, one small vol., 1889, with a sequel entitled 續俳句評釋 "*Zoku Haiku Hyōshaku*," reproduces the epigrams of the 猿蓑集 "*Saru-mino Shū*" anthology, and accompanies each with a short commentary.

俳諧論 "*Haikai-ron*," by Aeba Kōson, an article of 46 pages published in a magazine entitled 早稻田文學 "*Waseda Bungaku*." This distinguished man of letters here gives perhaps the best general view of the subject in a concise form.

俳家奇人談 "*Haika Kijin Dan*," by Gengen-ichi, 3 vols., 1816, with sequel entitled 續俳家奇人談 "*Zoku Haika Kijin Dan*," 3 vols., 1832, illustrated. Biographies of epigrammatists.

古今俳家逸話 "*Kokon Haika Itsuwa*," by Shigure-an, one thin vol., 1901. Anecdotes of epigrammatists. Many similar collections exist.

俳句入門 "*Haiku Nyūmon*," by Takahama Kyoshi, a light of the *Shimpa* or contemporary school, 1 Vol., 1898. This little guide to the composition of epigrams is interesting for its general remarks on style.

俳諧獨學 "*Haikai Dokugaku*," issued by the Hakubun-kwan publishing firm. This guide to the analysis and composition of epigrams enters into grammatical and other details, but is not to be recommended. The European student desirous of embarking on the study of the Japanese epigrammatic style should find a careful comparison of the originals quoted in the present essay with their translations far more useful. The favourite ellipses and other grammatical peculiarities of the style will be more easily mastered in this way than by the presentation of any set of rules.

俳諧古選 "*Haikai Kosen*," an anthology by Miyake Shōzan (died 1801), in the edition entitled 評釋俳諧古選 "*Hyōshaku Haikai Kosen*," published by Kimura Kakū in 1900, which adds a short commentary on each epigram. Only the first half of the original work has yet appeared in this form. Still this volume, published at 25 *sen*, is likely to be more useful to the foreign student than any other, except the 俳句評釋 "*Haiku Hyōshaku*," which it closely resembles in form.

蕪村句集綿義 "*Buson Kushū Kōgi*," only 2 vols. yet published in book form, 1900. The rest is appearing gradually in a magazine entitled "*Hototogisu*." Buson's epigrams are here discussed seriatim by a select circle of admirers, whose criticisms are given exactly as delivered in Colloquial. The obscurity of many epigrams is here well exhibited.

俳諧文庫 "*Haikai Bunko*," 24 large vols., 1887–1901, issued by the Hakubun-kwan publishing firm. This encyclopædic compilation includes matter new and old,—general treatises, biographies, the complete works of many epigrammatists, anthologies arranged according to subjects, anecdotical matter, prose works by the epigrammatists, their essays, notes of travel, etc., etc., etc. The present writer does not profess to have done more than touch the fringe of this gigantic compilation, but he has at least profited by Uchida Fuchi-an's biography and critique of Bashō, entitled 芭蕉庵桃青傳 "*Bashō-an Tōsei Den*," and 芭蕉後傳 "*Bashō Kōden*," by Aeba Kōson's biography of Yokoi Yayū entitled 横井也有翁ノ傳 "*Yokoi Yayū Ō no Den*," by the biographical sketch appended to the collection of Issa's epigrams entitled 一茶全集 "*Issa Zenshū*," and by Ōno Seichiku's historical sketch of the subject entitled 俳諧畧史 "*Haikai Ryakushi*."

Besides the above, there are the well-known general literary histories. Haga's 國文學史十講 "*Kokubun-gaku Shi Jikkō*," or "Ten Lectures on the History of our National Literature," has been found suggestive. It has, moreover, the advantage of being written in Colloquial.

So far as known to the present writer, the only European authors who have treated, however briefly, of the subject hitherto are:—

I. *W. G. Aston*, who, in his "Grammar of the Japanese Written Language," 2nd edit., p. 203 (1877), inserted 3 specimens of epigrams with literal translations, and later, in his "History of Japanese Literature," pp. 289-297 (1899), gave a summary of the subject (but without touching on *origines*), together with literal translations of 19 specimens.

II. *B. H. Chamberlain*, "Handbook of Colloquial Japanese," 2nd. edit., pp. 453–4 (1889). 4 specimens—text and literal translation.

III. *Lafcadio Hearn*, "In Ghostly Japan," pp. 156-164 (1899), text of 8 epigrams, with literal translation and explanation.—Since the present essay was completed, the writer's attention has been drawn to Mr. Hearn's two latest works, "Shadowings," pp. 69–100 (1901), and "A Japanese Miscellany," pp. 92–118 (1901), containing respectively collections of epigrams on the curious subjects of cicadæ and dragon-flies,—no less than 107 in all, or more, if those are counted of which not the original text, but only the translation is given. Some of the renderings are in the metre of the elegiac distich, which, owing to the far larger number of syllables of that form of verse, necessitates more or less expansion of the originals. Others, rendered literally, though less attractive as English—or Anglicised—poems, possess superior value for the scientific enquirer. All well exhibit the endless dexterity with which the Japanese epigrammatist can modulate the trilling of his tiny pipe.

A Brief Sketch of the History of Political Parties in Japan.

By A. H. Lay Esq.

[*Read, 4. Dec. 1902.*]

The idea of popular representation in the Government of Japan may be said to have had its birth with the Restoration. Prior thereto indeed the minds of some thoughtful men had been turning in this direction. For example, Yoroi Heishirō, Shōnan of Higo had for some years been a strong advocate of national progress in all directions. And Yamauchi Toyonobu, *Daimiō* of Tosa, who had endeavoured strenuously to bring about the revival of the Imperial authority, presented a memorial in 1867, in favour of the establishment of a deliberative assembly.

His Imperial Majesty the present Emperor, in his Oath on the occasion of his accession to the Throne, made known his enlightened desire that men should meet in council from all parts of the country and all affairs of state be determined in accordance with public opinion, The achievement by all classes of the people of their legitimate desires and the prevention of discontent were necessary. Unprecedented reforms for the welfare of the nation were to be effected. This pronouncement may be regarded as the starting point of the movement towards Parliamentary Institutions. The Imperial wishes in regard to the opinion of the people and the necessity

* The *Go Seimon* (御誓文) of the 14th day of the 3rd month of the 1st, year of Meiji (April 6 1868).

for their aid in carrying on the affairs of the nation were further notified from time to time. In a notification of a few months later * it was declared that public sentiment, as expressed by the councillors selected from all parts, was to be the directing power in the future because the private caprice of any one individual should not be allowed to control the Empire. Again, † early in 1869, His Majesty proclained that he was about to proceed to the East where he would summon together his Ministers and the Chiefs of the People in order that the popular opinion might be consulted, that the foundations of the nation might be laid upon a basis which should insure national tranquillity. All these notifications show what was in the mind of the Emperor and His advisers in the early days of the re-instatement of the Imperial Rule.

The spirit of the Meiji era throughout has been reform, and progress, and consultation of the popular will as far as possible, within certain fixed limits, and the enlargement of the rights of the people. In the main, the Government has tried to fulfil the aspirations of the people although it has at all times felt bound to act as a drag upon over impetuosity and undue haste. With regard to the ultimate form which Representative Institutions should take, the authorities have differed and still differ from the generally expressed desire of the people.

In considering the steps taken after the Restoration to perfect the organs of administration, we find that when the Government of the young Emperor was organized at Kioto, its members were composed of 3 classes, 1, *Sōsai* (總裁) who had supreme control (Prince Arisugawa Satsu, assisted

* 8th month of the 1st year of Meiji (September 1868).

† 25th day of 2nd month of the 2nd year of Meiji.

by Princes Sanjō and Iwakura), *Gijō* or *Giteі* (議定, consisting of Princes of the Blood, Nobles of the Court, and Territorial Nobles, who assisted in the direction of affairs, conducting business that was not of the highest importance, and *Sanyo* (參與), councillors, consisting of nobles of the Court and retainers of the *daimiōs* chosen from various clans. * Eight Departments were created under the Dajōkwan or Government. The arrangement having been hurriedly made at a time of commotion was not found workable, and accordingly in June 1868 the Dajōkwan issued a notification remodelling the system of Government. It was therein laid down that all matters were to be settled by public discussion. The Government was divided among seven Departments, one of which was termed the *Gisei*, (議政), the Deliberative assembly. The Department exercised legislative power and was subdivided into an Upper House (上局) and a Lower House (下局). The upper House consisted of *Gijō*, *Sanyo*, Secretaries and clerks, and the Lower House had two Presidents of debate and † ordinary members whose duty it was to discuss, under the orders of the Upper House affairs relating to the Revenue, relations with foreign countries, the coinage, colonization etc. Here we have the germ of the present House of Peers and House of Representatives. Towards the end of 1868 a Bureau for the investigation of matters connected with public deliberation on affairs of state was opened ‡ under the control of Yamauchi Toyonobu. A Parliament called *Kōgijo* (公議所) place for public discussion was opened at Tōkiō on April 18, 1869, when an Imperial Message of instruction was

* Seven if we exclude the *Sōsai kioku.*

† 貢士 (Kōshi).

‡ 19th day of 9th month of 1st year of Meiji (November 3, 1868).

read. The opening was originally fixed for March 27, but the ceremony was postponed in order to allow all the members to reach the Capital from the Provinces. The idea at first was to make representation depend upon the importance of the clan, but this too was at the last moment altered, and each Daimiate was instructed to furnish one representative. In all there were 276 members. The chamber was not actually representative of the people but of the Governing authorities in the various localities. Members were elected, by order of the Emperor, by the Councillors who carried on the affairs of the Feudal Principalities. Akizuki Ukiōnosuke was the first President. The Kōgijo became known as the * Shūgi-In (衆議院) on † August 15, 1869. Among matters discussed by this so-called Parliament were questions regarding new laws. Petitions were also received from the people. It had been largely the desire to fashion the Japanese constitution on western methods, and the hope that the administration could be conducted most smoothly by ascertaining the will of the majority, had led to the creation of a deliberative assembly. But the constitution of the *Shūgi-In* rendered it from its nature prejudiced and unprogressive, and after a trial of a year or two the venture was found to be unsuccessful. Its sittings were discontinued from ‡ October 4, 1870, and thereafter its business was limited to the receipt of petitions; but it was not actually abolished in name till June 24, 1873.

* *Shūgi-In* is the name applied to the present House of Representatives, the only difference being that the first of the three characters is written differently in each case. The modern term is written (衆議院).

† 8th day of the 7th month of the 2nd year of Meiji.

‡ 10th day of 9th month of the 3rd year of Meiji.

Extensive changes in the *Dajōkwan* were effected in * September 1871. The Sei-In (正院), chief College or Council of State, the Sa-In (左院), Left College, and the U-In (右院), Right College or Executive, were established. The Sa-In was intended to be a deliberative and legislative chamber with limited powers, and replaced the Shūgi-In. The members were nominated by the Emperor and the Council of State. Gotō Shōjirō, who subsequently played a leading part in Japanese politics, was the first President.

Various measures issued about this time tended to remove social barriers between the people, and indirectly contributed to help the nation at large to a share in the conduct of national affairs. By the abolition of the Feudal System on †August 29. 1871, on the advice of Kido Takayoshi, and its replacement by the organization of Prefectures, centralization of the Government was brought about. Also the permission granted for marriages between all classes of the people, and the abolition of the terms *eta* and *hinin* in October, aided in the removal of rigid social distinctions and disqualifications.

The history of political parties in Japan from their inception up to the present time may be conveniently divided into four periods. (1). The period from the Restoration up to 1882 while as yet they were in embryo. (2). From the year 1882 when they for the first time took actual shape, until the year 1887.

(3). From the organization of the Daidō-danketsu in 1887 until 1898. (4). From the date of the amalgamation of the two strongest parties under the name of the constitutional party, (Kenseitō 憲政黨) until the present moment.

* 29th day of 7th month of 4th year of Meiji.

† 14th day of 7th month of 4th year of Meiji.

The stirring events of the Restoration, and the spread of the doctrines which had brought about the reinstatement of the Imperial authority in deed as well as in name, led to a great awakening of thought in the nation. The popular mind was open for the reception of new ideas, and fastened with avidity upon everything that appeared to make for national advancement. The people eagerly took up the work leading to the establishment of constitutional Government which had been started under Imperial and official auspices.

Public opinion was divided into two currents, that of gradual and that of rapid progress, and, in spite of a slight backwater of conservatism, the general flow of feeling was steady in the direction of reform.

Foreign influence soon made itself felt in Japanese domestic politics. The Special Mission despatched to Europe and America at the close of 1871 was headed by Iwakura Tomomi, *Udaijin*, having as assistant ambassadors Kido Takayoshi, Councillor of State, Ōkubo Toshimichi, Minister of Finance, Itō Hirobumi, Vice-Minister of Works, and Kamaguchi Naoyoshi, assistant Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, and had for its main object the revision of the Treaties. It was, however, understood in official circles that observation of the political institutions in the countries to be visited would form part of the duty of the Embassy. On his return to Japan, Kido, in narrating the various circumstances which had fallen under his notice abroad, stated that the most urgent need of the nation was to establish the constitution on the basis of the Imperial Laws, and to frame laws having something of permanency, not * issued in the morning and revoked in the evening. He

* Chō rei bokai, (朝令暮改).

expressed the opinion that although Japan had not yet reached the stage when all matters could be submitted to the decision of the public, the Government should be conducted upon the principle of consultation of the wishes of the people. Of the alien influences which helped to mould the shape which it was destined that representative institutions should take, that of the United States was first apparent. Then followed a period when the views of those who had studied political problems in England were predominant. And subsequently * French influence became for a time paramount. But in the end German theories of Government prevailed and left their stamp upon the Japanese Constitutional system.

In the year 1873 there were to be found among the ranks of the higher officials of the Government two well defined parties, the one desirous of gradual progress at home, and a conciliatory policy towards other nations, the other advocating rapid progress in domestic matters and a resolute foreign policy. The line of demarcation was accentuated by the discussion which arose as to whether the conduct of Korea towards Japan in the refusal to receive the letter from this country and in the treatment meted out to the Japanese Envoys demanded an appeal to the sword. The peace party supported by Ōkubo and Iwakura gained the day, and the war party severed their connection with the Government. Among

* French thought made its influence greatly felt in 1881. The return of Marquis Saionji from France in the early part of that year helped to turn attention to French political and social theories. He started the *Tōyō Jiyū Shimbun*, along with Matsuzawa Kinsuke and Matsuda Masahisa, in order to ventilate his opinions on the subject of freedom. The principles of Rousseau because popular and obtained many converts in particular the celebrated Nakae Tokusuke (Chōmin), recently deceased.

those who followed the example of Saigō Takamori in resigning were Itagaki Taisuke, a *samurai* of the Kōchi Prefecture, *Soyejima Taneomi, a *samurai* of the Saga Prefecture, Etō Shimpei, a *samurai* of the Saga Prefecture, Gōtō Shōjirō, a *samurai* of the Tōkiō Fu. These men were Councillors of State and had repeatedly memorialished the Government of a popular assembly during their tenure of office. Thus the Government was left in the hands of those of more moderate inclinations, while the ardent advocates of the rights of the people took their place outside the ranks of officialdom, there to labour more effectively for their cherished object. They met from time to time in consultation, and were joined by Komuro Nobuo, a *samurai* of the old †Miōdō Prefecture, Furusawa Urō, a *samurai* of the Kōchi Prefecture, both of whom had just returned from England filled with admiration of English Parliamentary Institutions, and with a desire to transplant them in Japan, Okamoto Kenzaburō, a *samurai* of Kōchi Prefecture, and others. One point in the conduct of the administration which they strongly resented was the abolition of the appointment of representatives of the clans to the deliberative assembly, notwithstanding the fact that they were not in the true sense representative of the people. They considered that the abuses of a bureaucracy had ensued. The idea of striving for the foundation in Japan of an assembly composed of representatives elected by the people appealed strongly to these reformers. Fired with zeal for the cause

* Resigned the office of Minister for Foreign affairs October 31. 1873 on the plea of ill-health.

† On August 21. 1876 the Miōdō Prefecture was divided between the Hiogo and Kōchi Prefectures Awaji going to the former Awa to the latter.

they lost no time in taking steps to render the realization of their dreams possible. In the one direction they addressed a Memorial to the Government, while at the same time they laboured for the spread of their doctrines among the people. Here we have the germ of the political parties which in the course of no very long time developed and flourished.

The important memorial just referred to, which is said to have been drafted by Furusawa and then submitted to Soejima for his amendment, bore the signatures of Itagaki, Gotō, Soejima, Etō, Komuro, Furusawa, Okamoto, Mitsuoka Hachirō and Yuri Kimmasa, a *samurai* of Tsuruga Prefecture. It was presented to the *Sa-In* and bore date January 17, 1874. At the same time publication of it was effected in the *Nisshin shin ji shi* (日新眞事誌), in which numerous articles of interest bearing upon the same and other subjects appeared at the time. Much popular discussion was caused by its publication. In the preamble, allusion is made to the failure on the part of the authorities to undertake measures towards the establishment of political institutions in Japan in spite of the return home some time previously of the Special Embassy. Mutual distrust had of late arisen between rulers and the ruled, the mind of the people was agitated and there were evident signs of pending trouble, simply because the general opinion of the Empire as ascertained by public discussion had been suppressed. The memorial itself goes on to say that the Governing Power was neither in the Imperial House nor with the people, but in the hands of officials who occupied a place between the two. Not that these men neglected to pay respect to the Imperial House or to protect the people. But the

Crown was losing the reverence due to it and there was much making and changing of laws, and favouritism prevailed. The people could not make their voice heard nor could they express their grievances. The merest child could perceive that under the circumstances tranquil Government was an impossibility. Reform must be effected or the nation would come to ruin. The remedy lay in the promotion of public discussion which was to be brought about by means of a Council chamber elected by the people. Taxpayers had a right to a voice in the conduct of public affairs. It was not too early, as some maintained, to take the step indicated, and a long argument in support of the contention of the memorialists followed.

In reply to the Memorial the *Sa-In* returned a conciliatory message on January 23, 1874. That College was convinced that the principle advocated was excellent, and having already received sanction to a proposal of a similar nature emanating from themselves, had drafted a set of regulations. The suggestion would therefore be adopted, but it was recommended that the Home office just constituted should first of all be called upon to express an opinion, and that the question should be taken up after the Local assemblies had met in view of the instructions issued in 1873 relative to such Assemblies. But there were not wanting those who sneered at the proposal. Katō Hiroyuki drew up a memorandum in criticism of the memorial, in which doubts as to the advisability of establishing an elective assembly were uttered. To him Itagaki, Gotō and Soejima replied, jointly, on February 20, pointing out that no sudden change was in contemplation. At first the franchise would be bestowed only upon the *Samurai* and richer farmers and merchants.

They had proved worthy of the right, for they it was who had produced the leaders of the revolution of 1868.

It was also urged by opponents of the movement that the bulk of the nation was indifferent to the proposed change and that the *samurai* alone were interested. No doubt this was more or less true at the start, but it was not long before the new propaganda gained favour with a large section of the nation. Before long two certain writers asserted that the faults of the government lay with the few clans who controlled its conduct and that the whole nation ought to take their place in directing public business.

Now that the project of a popular assembly had been expressly brought before the attention of the public and had elicited a large measure of approval in different quarters, the natural sequence of events was the setting on foot of associations formed for political purposes which should eventually grow into political parties proper. Thus the earliest political Society from which the Jiyū-tō (Liberal Party) subsequently sprang, namely the * *aikoku kō tō* (愛國公黨), the Patriotic Society. Its aim was set forth to be the maintenance of popular rights and to enable the people to be self governing, free, independent, unfettered, the first meeting was held in the Kōfuku Anzensha in Ginza, Tōkiō. A large number of persons enrolled themselves members of the Society.

But these were still early days and the cause suffered severely at the outset from the mistaken zeal of some of its friends. Early in 1874 occurred the attack upon Prince Iwakura at Akasaka by Takaichi Kumakichi of

* Also known as the *Aikokusha*.

Kōchi and eight other partisans of the side which advocated war with Korea. The outbreak shortly afterwards of Etō Shimpei and his resistance to the forces of the Government on the plea of patriotism and the subjugation of Korea, which cost him his life, also furnished its enemies with excellent weapons to fight the popular movement. Itagaki returned to his native Province, vowing, however, that he would devote his life to the cause of the inauguration of representative institutions. He there established shortly afterwards the first local political association which he named the *Risshisha* (立志社), showing his determination to adhere to what he considered to be his life's work. He declared that the time of transition which had arrived when old fashions were falling into desuetude, and the administration system had not been perfected, required that the energies of the people should be employed for the Emperor and the nation.* We thus have Kōchi and later on Hizen among the clans which helped to bring about the Restoration, working for the extension of the power of the people, while the Government was in the main conducted by Satsuma and Chōshū men.

A step towards the creation of a Representative Assembly was again taken in the establishment of a Deliberative Assembly of Local Authorities by an Imperial Decree of May 2, 1874 wherein it was affirmed that the Imperial desire was eventually to assemble representatives of all the people and to determine the laws in accordance with public opinion.† The Chamber was to

* Other political associations also were formed in Tosu, such as the *Seikensha*.

‡ Count Inoue Kaoru, whose labours in connection with the progress

have been opened on the 10th of September 1874, but in August of that year postponement was decreed for the reason that Ōkubo, Minister for Home Affairs, was then absent in China as High Commissioner Extraordinary endeavouring to arrive at a settlement of the Formosan affairs with the Chinese Government. Before calling the Local Officials together it was necessary to ascertain whether it was to be peace or war, lest excitement in the provinces should lead to mischief. Eventually the Assembly met on the 20th of June 1875, the ceremony being performed by H.M. the Emperor in person. An incident which aroused the ire of the press was the refusal to allow newspaper representatives to be present. Kido was the first President of the Assembly and the attention of the members was as a commencement called to the matter of Roads and Bridges. The question of a Popular Assembly came up for consideration in July, and, to the great disappointment of those who supported the cause of the people, it was decided that the condition of the country was not such as to warrant such a step in advance, the Local Authorities giving the weight of their influence in favour of Assemblies of *Ku chō* and *Ko chō* instead. Meetings were to be held annually, but owing to the Satsuma rebellion they were suspended for a few years. The second session opened in April 1878, Itō being President.

In 1875 a temporary reconciliation took place between the statesmen in office and those who had given up their official positions. A meeting between Ōkubo, Itō,

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of Japan, must be borne in mind, when Acting Minister of Finance, summoned the Local Authorities to Tokio in 1872 to deliberate upon matters connected with local financial administration.

Hido, and Itagaki, was brought about at Ōsaka on January 10, and it was agreed that a parliamentary system should be erected as being the best means to meet the national requirements. Itagaki and Kido then accepted their old offices of Councillors of State. On the 17th of March the four officials mentioned were commanded to make investigations together regarding the constitution of the Government and, as a result of their report on their Enquiries, the Sa-In and the U-In were abolished and the *Genrō in* (元老院) Senate was established on April 14, 1875, and also the Dai Shin In (High Court of Justice).

On July 5, 1875 the Emperor delivered a speech on the occasion of the opening of the *Genrō In* in which He declared its establishment as a legislative Body of *Gikwan* (Deliberative officials). Among the members of the *Genrō In* were Gōtō Shōjirō, Vice President, Yanagiwara Sakimitsu, *shō shii*, Katsu Yasuyoshi, *shō shii*, Ogue Tsune, *jushii*, Yuri Kuimasa, *jushii*, Mutsu Munemitsu, *Shō go-i*, Torio Koyata, and Miura Gōrō, *shō go-i* and *shō shii* of the War Department, Kōno Toshikawa, *shō go-i*, and Katō Hiroyuki, *jugoi*.

But the reunion in official circles was not of long duration. In the Autumn of 1875 the "Unyo kan" was fired on by Koreans in the vicinity of Kōkwa (江華) island and the question arose whether or not war should be declared against the Peninsular Kingdom. Itagaki favoured vigorous measures. He was also dissatisfied with the measure of administrative reform attained. Accordingly, on October 12, he presented a Memorial to the Emperor urging the separation of the Council of State from the Executive Departments. Shimazu Hisamitsu, *Sadaijin*, a few days later, presented a similar

Memorial in which he expressed his concurrence with the views expressed by Itagaki. The outcome was that both of them were on the 27th relieved of office at their own request on March 28, 1876. Inoue too was similarly relieved of his duties.

1875 also saw the liberty of the press, of public speech, and of publication considerably restricted. The Government, not without reason, feared the consequences of complete freedom of expression of public opinion while the newspapers complained that they were hampered and fettered, and, in at least one instance, were punished merely for complaining of the severity of the law. The new Press Laws were promulgated on July 28, and their stringency created widespread consternation. One newspaper stated that they had at once put a stop to public discussion throughout the Empire. Even the moderate *Nichi Nichi Shimbun* fell under the ban of official displeasure. Imprisonment of editors and suspension of newspapers were matters of common occurence.* It was no wonder that constant attempts were made to evade the laws as, for instance, by substituting the name of some other country for Japan in an article and then giving vent to their feelings in reference to that other country so that any one reading between the lines could see that Japan was meant. The complaint was made that Japan was a pure absolute monarchy and that the real legislative and judicial powers lay with the Cabinet Ministers.

But, in spite of all this apparent reaction, the course

* At one time there were over 30 newspaper contributors in prison in Tokio alone.

of events tended generally towards the goal of Constitutional Government.

According to an Imperial message made known by Prince Arisugawa, President of the *Genrōin*, to its members on September 6, 1876, that body was entrusted with the duty of drafting a Constitution by an extensive consideration of the legal systems of foreign countries and the employment upon mature reflection of the ideas therein embodied when suitable. A Committee of investigation was appointed consisting of Nakajima Nobuyuki, the first President of the present House of Representatives, Yanagiwara Sakimitsu, Bukuha Bisei. But an unfortunate check was given to progress by the troubles which arose the following month and which preceded the outbreak of the Satsuma rebellion in January 1877.

While the civil war was in progress it was feared that disaffection might spread to other parts of the Empire and Itagaki had returned to Tosa in order to exercise a restraining influence upon his followers. The *Risshi sha*, acting in concert with the *Sciken sha* held consultations regarding the conduct of the Government and the need for an Elective Assembly to cure the evils the State was suffering from. On May 14, 1877, Kataoka Kenkichi, as representative of the *Risshisha*, presented a lengthy Memorial to the Imperial Court at Kioto. It was pointed out therein that when the Feudal Principalities were converted into Prefectures, an Assembly of *samurai* should have been convened and public discussion further developed. But instead of that the Government behaved in an arbitrary manner and to this could be traced all the ills of the present maladministration. Neither

he *Genrō In* nor the *Daishin In* had fulfilled the natural xpectation raised at the time of their institution. ustice had not been done to the *Samurai.* Their offices ad been abolished but no laws had been framed for ieir protection, nor were they admitted to a share in the eliberations of the Government. Other grievances such s the financial conditions were also touched upon. In onclusion it was represented that the establishment of n elective assembly and the enactment of Constitutional aws were the means by which a free and independent irit could be fostered among the people and they uld receive settled ideas upon politics.

The attention of the Government had been anxiously ked upon Kōchi for some time as it was feared that bellion might spread thither from the South. Measures ere taken to prevent any recourse to force, and arrests men who had come to the front there and in other rts of the country were effected. For example, Kata-ka Kenkichi, Hayashi Yuzō, * Ōe Taku, Takenouchi suna, Mutsu Munemitsu, a *samurai* of Wakayama, and terwards Minister for Foreign Affairs, and others who ad been taken into custody were sentenced to various rms of imprisonment in the summer of 1878. After ie rebellious outbreak had been quelled, the power of ie central Government was found to rest upon a firmer sis than ever, and the movers in the cause of popular presentation deemed it necessary to institute a political mpaign throughout the country, to revive the interest in ie question which was languishing. It was decided to suscitate the *Aikokusha* which had practically ceased to

* A *Samurai* of Kōchi Ken.

exist except in name, and Sugita Teiichi, Kuribara Riō ichi, Ueki Emori, Yasuoka Michitarō, in April 1878 pro ceeded on a tour throughout the country to re-awake the people, visiting the Kinai, Hokuriku, Sanin, Sanyō Shikoku and Kiushū Provinces. The cause of public dis cussion was, however, for the moment brought into dis credit by the misguided act of certain of its adherents Ōkubo, who had for so many of the years of the new life of Japan been a pillar of the State, was killed o May 14, and his six murderers issued a paper settin forth the alleged crimes of their victim, in the forefron of which was the charge of obstructing open discussio and trampling on the rights of the people. The death c Ōkubo prevented him from beholding the reforms calcu lated to further the growing and widely expressed desir for representation which he had largely contributed t bring about, and which were announced two months late On July 22, 1878 were published * three enactment passed by the Chihō-Kwan Kwaigi having a most im portant bearing on the conduct of local affairs and makin for localization. These were the *Fu Ken Kwai Kisok* (Regulations relating to *Fu* and *Ken* assemblies), the *Ch hōzei—Kisoku* (Regulations relating to local Taxation), an the *Gun Kuchō sonhenseihō* (Law for the formation c country and City Districts, towns and villages). A larg measure of local autonomy was thereby conceded.

While liberal principles were thus asserting themselve within the Government, the idea of the people obtainin a share in the direction of affairs spread and even mad converts among the higher officials in the Provinces

* The San Dai Shimpō (三大新法).

Sympathy on the part of several of the Local Authorities was hailed with rejoicing, as they were regarded as the representatives of the people of the Prefectures. In September 1878 a large meeting of sympathizers with the popular aspirations was held at Ōsaka and in its sequel the *Aikokusha* came to life again Similar societies extended throughout the Northern Provinces, Shikoku and Kiushū. The *Aikokusha* held a second largely representative meeting at Ōsaka in March 1879, to which a number of associations sent delegates, and at a further assembly which took place in the following November, a determination was expressed to present a petition to the Government praying for the grant of a national assembly, the means for giving effect to their wishes to be carefully considered and to be discussed in March of the next year. Speakers were also to be despatched to various parts of the country to arouse local enthusiasm. The views of the Society were at the same time disseminated by pamphlets. Accordingly the *Aikokusha* met again in March 1880 when its supporters formed themselves into an association called the *Kokkwai Kisei Dōmei Kwai* (國會期成同盟會), Union for the establishment of a Parliament. Mr. Kataoka and Kōno were appointed delegates to undertake the presentation of the petition. They proceeded to Tōkiō as * representatives selected by the ninety seven persons who were acting on behalf of twenty two Prefectures, two cities, and eighty seven thousand people, and attempted to hand their prayer first to the *Daĵōkwan* and then to the *Genrō-In.* Refusal to receive it, however, met them, on the ground that no provision existed for the receipt of

* *Kenseitō Shōshi.*

political petitions. Many other documents of similar import found their way to Tōkiō from various localities, and it was claimed that by the end of April seven or eight tenths of the whole people had made their voice heard urging that a Parliament be given them. To restrain this clamour for a parliament repeated from so many quarters, and to control the crowded gatherings which were convened with this as their avowed object, lest any disturbance might arise, the Government promulgated the Law of Public Meetings on April 3, 1880. The meetings of the old *Aikokusha* at Ōsaka were thereby put a stop to, and the association for a time obliterated itself only to reappear in the future in a stronger and more permanent shape. The stringent measures taken by the Government, though conceived rather with the object of controlling the more unruly elements among the political societies, were strongly resented by the public at large. The movement in favour of a national assembly was declared by its devotees to be ten times stronger than that which occasioned the overthrow of the Tokugawa rule. In the latter case only the *samurai* and higher grades of society had taken an active part. Now the entire population was vitally interested. Events proved the correctness of this judgment. The late Mr. Fukuzawa was much interested in this as in all other questions affecting the national life, and he expressed an opinion in one of his works that the best way to bring the Government and people into proper touch with each other was by a National Asaembly.

Meanwhile the Government were continuing upon the the lines of gradual progress in legislation &c. The

* Criminal Code and Code of Criminal Procedure, for example, were issued in 1880 (July). Public opinion, however, was by this time a force which had to be reckoned with in a manner different from the attention which it had claimed at any previous period in the history of Japan. Among the ranks of the Government there was a growing feeling that a reasonable measure of concession to the wishes of the people could not be delayed much longer. In the spring of 1880 a proposal, according to the *Kensei shōshi*, emanated from † Marquis Yamagata to the effect that a Parliament should be constituted by selection from among the members of the City and Prefectural assemblies. Lieut.-General Torio Koyata also published his views regarding constitutional and Parliamentary administration. But amongst the officials Count (then Mr) Ōkuma, probably more than any other statesman, had the cause of the people at heart, and sympathized with their desire for representation. He offered a suggestion to the Emperor regarding the advisability of a national assembly being opened in the near future (1883). It was not long before his hopes were realized.

In the annals of domestic politics in Japan the year 1881 stands out conspicuously. On the 12th of October His Majesty The Emperor promulgated the famous Imperial Ordinance in which the promise was given that a Parliament should actually be established in 1890. As a preparatory measure Itō, in company with a number or junior officials, was despatched to Europe early in 1882 to study the political systems of the west.

The various associations scattered throughout the coun-

* Keihō and *chigihō*.

† then Count.

try, with reform and popular representation as their aim, now found themselves within measurable distance of their goal. The next step to be taken was re-organization on the lines of parties entitled to compete in the election of members of the Diet. Consequently the year 1882 saw the actual birth of the three important parties which are still in existence, though the names by which they have been know have been altered at various stages of their history.

To the *Jiyūtō*, or Liberal Party as it has been commonly called, belongs the credit of being the senior in the field, thought it was not really the first to be properly registered as a political association. The part played by Itagaki in the awakening and organization of the political energies of the Empire and this establishment of the *Aikokusha* and the *Kokwai Kisei Dōmei Kwai* has already been referred to. In November 1880 the last named union held a meeting attended by sixty for delegates representative of * two cities and twenty two Prefectures. It was decided to change the name of the society to the *Dai Nippon Kokkwai Kisei Yūshi Kwai* (大日本國會期成有志會), Public Association of persons in sympathy with the idea of the establishment of a Parliament in Japan. A determination was arrived at to organize a party with fixed principles based upon the idea of freedom. This was practically the first formal recognition of the necessity for political parties on well defined lines. Thus the *Jiyūtō*, party of freedom or Liberal Party, acquired

* Kiōto and Ōsaka and the Prefectures of Fukuoka, Shimane, Ishikawa, Ehime, Nagano, Mumamoto, Akita, Aichi, Kōchi, Gumma, Aomori, Fukushima, Shiga, Niigata, Tochigi, Okayama, Ibaraki, Hiōgo, Iwate, Ōita, Miyagi, and Saitama.

its name. A manifesto was drawn up consisting of three articles. Desire to enlarge the freedom of the Japanese people, to extend their rights and afford them protection was the *raison d'etre* of the party. The *Jiyūtō* would labour for national progress and the growth of the happiness of the people. In their opinion all Japanese possessed equal rights and Constitutional Government was befitting to Japan. On October 29, 1881 the ceremony of establishing the party was performed at the Ibumurarō, Asakusa, Tōkiō. At the same time the *Dai Nippon Kokkwai Kisei Kōkwai*, which had still remained in existence, was amalgamated with the *Jiyūtō*, the step being taken because it was felt that the multiplication of parties united in principle was disadvantageous. The headquarters of the *Jiyūtō* were established at No. 9 Yariyachō, Kiōbashi District, Tōkiō. Officials were appointed as follow—Itagaki. President; Nakajima Nobuyuki, Vice President; Gōtō Shōjirō, Baba Tatsue, Suehirō Shigeyasu, Takenouchi Tsuna, Standing Committee. Thus the party was fully organized. It was, however, not until July 8, 1882 that official sanction to the constitution of the *Jiyūtō* as a political party was obtained. Prior to that date the party had come into conflict with the police for infringement of the Law of Public meetings by holding gatherings which had not been reported beforehand to the proper authorities. The Managers of the party were mulcted in fines.

Rikken kai-shin-tō (立憲改進黨), Constitutional Reform Party, or Liberal Conservatives as they have been termed, the progenitor of the *Shimpotō* and the later *Kensei-hon-tō*, was established in the early months of 1882. It had its rise among the moderate reformers in the ranks of official-

dom whose watchword was slow but steady progress. Mr. Ōkuma's advocacy of the urgency of establishing a popular assembly had raised up for him enemies among his colleagues and his opposition to the sale of industrial undertakings in the Hōkkaidō had widened the breach. To him was due the credit of lending the weight of his influence to the popular cause, and he turned to the people for their assistance in the work of reform. According to the *Gō-dō-ken-kō-roku*, Mr. Ōkuma had no intention of limiting his efforts to obtaining an elective assembly for the people. He had at heart the achievement of great reforms of State and desired to rally round him those of the same way of thought throughout the country, in order to be prepared for the changes which the times were bringing about. Among his sympathizers he counted Ono Azusa, who was regarded as one of the ablest men of the day, Ogawa Tamejirō, Tachibana Kwaijirō, Ichijima Kenkichi, Yamada Ichirō, Takata Sanae, Okayama Kenkichi, and Amano Tameyuki. Meetings for the discussion of the question of a political organization and of matters relating to a Constitution were held at Ōno's house, and the society which collected there was known as the Ō-to-kwai (鷗渡會). The avowed object of Mr. Ōkuma in interesting himself in political parties was to place the Cabinet on a democratic basis and not have the authority in the hands of a particular class.

The better to fulfil what he conceived to be his duty, Ōkuma resigned his official posts in October 1881, carrying with him a number of the most promising of the Government servants. Those who followed him from office included Yano Fumio, Secretary to the *Dajōkwan*, Inukai Ki, and Ozaki Yukio of the Account Depart-

ment, Nakamigawa Hikojirō and Komatsubara Eitarō, both of the Foreign Office, Shimada Saburō and Tanaka Kōzō of the Department of Education, Kōno Binken (Toshigama) Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, * Maejima Mitsu Postmaster-General, Judge Kitabatake Harufusa, Ono Azusa of the Bureau of Audit, Mudaguchi Gengaku of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce, and Nakano Buei of the same Department, as well as others. On April 8, 1882 a Cherry Garden Party was held in the grounds of Mr. Ōkuma's residence near Kijibashi, now occupied by the French Legation. Among the guests were Messrs Ono, Ogawa, Takata, Ichijima, Okayama, Amano, Yamada Ichijirō, Yamada Kinosuke, Sunakawa Yūshun, Kimura Takejirō, Kōsaka Komatarō, Isobe Jun, Kitadai Masaru, and Ishiwatari. The meeting was an occasion for political discussion and plans for organization, and was succeeded by the inaugural ceremony which was performed at the *Meiji Kaidō* on the 16th. The headquarters of the *Kaishintō*, as the party was commonly called, were located in the building just mentioned, 14 Nichōme, Kobikichō, Kiōbashi District, Tōkiō. Mr. Ōkuma was the first President, Kōno Benken, Vice-President, Ono, † Mudaguchi and ‡ Haruki Yoshiaki being Managers. The inclination was towards English parliamentary institutions as a model. The manifesto of the party ran as follows:—(1) The preservation of the dignity of the Imperial House

* Created a Baron on the occasion of the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the accession of Japan to the International Postal Union, June 1902.

† Now President of the Tōkiō Tramway Co.

‡ President of the Tōkiō Appeal Court.

and the perfecting of the happiness of the people, (2) Internal reform to be the principal end in view and the national rights to be extended, (3) Local Self-Government and restriction of centralization, (4) Extension of the franchise *pari passu* with the progress of society, (5) Negotiations with foreign countries in regard to points of policy to be limited, and commercial negotiations strengthened, (6) The principle of a hard money system to be maintained. Superiority was indirectly claimed for the *Kaishintō* in the matter of *personnel* as compared with the *Jiyūtō*. In the *Go dō gen-kōroku* it is stated, as a quotation from the *Tsui-shi-roku* of Yamada Ichirō, that in the ranks of the *Jiyūtō* there were at the beginning no scholars, and that they could indeed only count one such who was in sympathy with them, viz. Fujita Shirō, because of the violence and radical views of the party, but it is at the same time admitted that there were not at the time many such men to be found in any of the rival camps. Socially the *Kaishintō* no doubt ranked above the *Jiyūtō*. After the complete organization of the *Kaishintō*, the *Akiba Kwai* (秋葉會) for the investigation of questions concerning the Constitution was set on foot by Ono and others.

What was styled the Meiji Government Party, the third and last of the three great parties, namely, the *Rikken Tei sei tō* (立憲帝政黨), i.e. Constitutional Imperial Party, arose in March 1882 as an opponent of the more advanced and popular parties. Among its chief promoters must first be mentioned Fukuchi Genichirō of the *Nichi Nichi Shimbun* which was then known as the *go-yō shimbun* official newspaper, and advocated careful advance, attacking the radical politicians on frequent

occasions. The other promoters were Mizuno Torajirō of the *Tōyō Shimbun*, Maruyama Sakura of the conservative *Meiji Nippō*, Misaki Kamenosuke, Seki Naohiko and Watanabe Asaka. On March 18, 1882 the *Rikken Tei-sei-tō* was formed and its formation was publicly announced early in April. The programme of the party was ennunciated in eleven articles. The points insisted upon were :—

1. The opening of the Diet in 1890, which the party accepted as determined by Imperial Ordinance.
2. Approval of the Constitution as it should be determined by Imperial order.
3. The Sovereign Power lies in the Emperor, but its exercise is governed by the Constitution.
4. There should be two houses in the Diet.
5. Members must have certain qualifications.
6. The Diet to discuss and settle laws.
7. The final determination of questions to rest with the Emperor.
8. Naval and military men to keep aloof from politics.
9. Judicial officers to be independent with the gradual completion of the Judicial system.
10. Public freedom of meeting and speech in so far as it does not interfere with national tranquility. Freedom of newspaper writing, public speaking, and publication within the limits of law.
11. The existing paper money system to be gradually changed for convertible paper money.

The more noticeable difference between this declaration and the expressed principles of the *Jiyūtō* and *Kaishintō* is its more conservative nature.

Political parties were at this time forbidden by law to have branches in the provinces. On official recognition being obtained all local offshoots had to be dissolved. In consequence, a multitude of parties of divers names sprang up all over the country.

To the *Jiyūtō* were as it were, affiliated the Ōsaka *Rikken Seitō*, Shizuoka *Gakunan Jiyūtō*, Kōchi *Kainan Jiyūtō*, Awaji *Jiyūtō*, Ōtsu *Jiyūtō*, Mikawa *Sanyō Jiyūtō*, Aitchi *Jiyūtō*, Etchu *Jichitō*, Echigo *Kubiki sangun Jiyūtō*; *O-u Tōhoku Shichi-shū Jiyūtō*. In sympathy with the *Kaishintō* were the Akita *Kaishintō*, the Mito *Kaishintō* of Ibaraki, the Etchū *Kaishintō* of Toyama, the Shizuoka *Kaishintō*, the *Jaku-etsu Kaishintō* of Fukui, the Hiōgo *Kaishintō*, the *Rinsen Kaishintō* of Fukuoka. In touch with the *Tei sei tō* we find the Kumamoto *Shimei Kwai*, Tosa *Kōyō Rikken Teiseitō*, Okayama *Chū-sei-Kwai*, Tango *Miyazu Zenshintō*, Yamanashi *Rikken hoshu tō*, and the Tōkiō *Rikken chū sei tō* and *Fusō Rikken tei-sei-tō*. Then, outside of the three strong parties were the *Hakuai-tō* of Kagoshima, the *Kō-gi-sei-tō* of Kumamoto, the *Rikken tei sei tō* of Chikuzen, the *Fushoku-kwai* of Ehime, the *Dō-yū-kwai* of Wakayama, the *Rio-yū-kwai* of Echizen, the *Chi-ken-kwai* of Fukui, the *Rikken-shin-sei-tō* of Kanagawa, the *Nō-ō Jiyū Kai-shin-tō* of Noto, the *Senyū-kwai* of Shizuoka, the *Tō-yō-sha-kwai-tō* of Shimabara, Hizen. 1882 may well be called the year of parties in Japan. In fact, political bodies sprang up everywhere and the interest exhibited in public affairs was striking. The use of the word *rikken*, constitutional, in the nomenclature of so many of the political bodies shows what importance was attached to the principle of constitutionalism in the administration of the Government.

But from the very start lack of cohesion militated greatly against successful effort and efficiency of organization and although this fault was to some extent remedied later on when circumstances became more favourable it has always continued to be the bane of political parties in Japan.

It will be remarked that the utterances of the various parties when they first came into existence present no features in the main of a distinctive nature. All put forth excellent doctrines but they were strongly characterized by vagueness. The same characteristic has been noticeable throughout their history, except when some question of urgency has for the moment arisen. This is no doubt the reason why the grouping has constantly changed, one group merging into another and secessions occurring, frequently without apparent cause. The line of cleavage has consequently never been very distinctly drawn and men have all the time passed from the ranks of one party to ally themselves with another. Nor is this to be wondered at in the absence of any concrete issue, which when it has appeared, has invariably consolidated the parties. The secret appears to lie in the fact that sentiment, rather than fixed and definite principles leading to well-defined ends, has been the motive power.

But the excitement had been so great and the movement so rapid that the reaction was bound to come speedily. 1883 and the following years therefore witnessed a falling off in political fervour among the people and disunion and disruption among the parties. The sure promise of a National Assembly for 1890 also contributed to bring about a relaxation of interest in

things political. Having the goal of their desires in view, the country ceased to pay the same concentrated attention to political agitation. Itagaki had in his mind a trip to Europe to study in person the systems of Government and methods of party organization in use abroad, but the scheme was temporarily frustrated by the wound he received in an attempt made by Aibara Shōkei to assassinate him at a gathering at Gifu on April 6, 1882, and by the work entailed in connection with the issue of the *Jiyū Shimbun*. But he eventually sailed for Europe, in company with Gōtō on November 11, 1882 and was absent from Japan till June of the following year. The absence of these two leaders from the arena removed a check upon the rank and file of the party. After their departure mutual jealonsies arose between the *Jiyūtō* and *Kaishintō*. The former attacked Ōkuma and his followers violently on account of certain improper relations alleged to exist between them and the Mitsu Bishi Company. For their part, the latter accused the *Jiyūtō* of giving all their time to personal and party attacks and trying to create divisions among the parties. The parties were moreover, divided amongst themselves. For example seceders from the *Jiyūtō*, Messrs Baba Tatsui, Ōishi Masami, Suehiro Shigeyasu, formed the *Dokuritsu tō*. It was the same story of lack of discipline which has already been cited.

Meanwhile the Authorities saw good cause for anxiety lest the awakened political feeling should act to the detriment of good Government. They feared the large intemperate and irresponsible element which was in marked evidence among the public exponents of popular rights and took steps to safeguard the interests of peace and

tranquillity. By stringent measures, which never failed to err on the side of severity, they endeavoured to restrict full liberty of speech, public meeting and newspaper writing. Amended newspaper regulations, issued on April 16, 1883, made still more difficult the conduct of newspapers. The proprietor, editor, manager, as well as the foreman of a newspaper, instead of the editor alone as before, were made liable to punishment in case of infringement of the provisions of the law. Not only so, but the amount of security to be deposited by persons wishing to start a newspaper was fixed at a sum that was in many cases prohibitive, namely, 1,000 *yen* in Tōkiō, 700 *yen* in Ōsaka, Kiōto, Yokohama, Hiōgo, Kōbe and Nagasaki and 350 *yen* in other places. And the dispersal of political meetings was more frequent in 1883 than was before.

Numerous were the proofs that the Government had reason to dread the effect upon the ignorant of the propagation of the new doctrines, though the repressive measures adopted no doubt accentuated the difficulty of the situation. Many were the arrests, and suspension of newspapers was frequent. A number of the more extreme adherents of the **Jiyūtō* came in for much censure for their violent methods. The most striking instances of infringement of the law which furnished the chief handles for attack to their enemies were the † Fuku-

* One Japanese newspaper at the time stated that the public had come to regard them as Nihilists or Socialists.

† In September 1883 judgment was given in this affair, in which the overthrow of the Government had been attempted; and Kōno Hironaka was sentenced to 7 years' minor confinement, and Tamono Hideaki (who died in prison), Hanaka Kiōjirō, Aizawa Neiken, Hirajima Matsuo to a 6 years' term. Subsequently the sentences of the survivors were decreased·

shima affair, the * Kabasan affair, and the † Ōsaka affair. In an article published in September 1883 the independent *Jiji Shimpō* complained that politics were confined to a class of men who made it their profession and that evils consequently resulted.

All the parties, though so recently organized, felt themselves more or less discredited. The *Rikken tei-sei tō* from its inception distrusted by the Cabinet, was the first to reach the conclusion that it would be better that its members should separate. Dissolution was effected on September 24, 1883. Opposition journals at the time held that such a course had been inevitable sooner or later. There was no need for a special Imperialist association in a country where all were loyal. This example was followed by the *Jiyūtō* a year later. At its 3rd annual meeting held at Ōsaka on October 29, 1884 it decided that dissolution was advisable for a number of reasons, among which were the prohibition against the existence of branches of the party, the restriction of the liberty of the press, and internal disunion. But this determination was based upon a resolve that the step should be a temporary one, merely taken in order to gather strength for further effort. In the case of the *Kaishintō* also there was a strong faction in favour of

* In September 1884 some numbers of the *Jiyūtō* plotted to overturn the Government, making the base of their operations at Kabasan in Hitachi. Tominaga Masayasu and four others were sentenced to death, not for their political offence, but on a charge of robbery and murder.

† On November 23, 1885 Oi Kentarō, Kobayashi Kusuo, Arai Shōgo, Inagaki Shimesu, etc., were accused of complicity in a plot to raise a revolution in Korea. Oi and Kobayashi were arrested at Ōsaka, the other two at Nagasaki. The first three named, received a sentence of 9 years penal servitude, subsequently shortened.

dissolution. The financial depression prevailing had its effect on politics, and it was maintained by Kōno who was supported by Mudaguchi, Haruki, Fujita Takayuki, etc., that dispersal and a guerilla warfare were the best plan. But opinions were divided. Messrs Ōkuma and Kōno, the President and Vice-President, left the *Kaishintō* on December 17, 1884 on grounds which comprised the lack of union and insubordination existing among its members; and the party was reduced to a condition of weakness. A Committee of seven was appointed to manage the business thereafter and consisted of Numa Shuichi, Fujita Mokichi, Shimada Saburō, Ozaki Yukio, Koizuka Riu, Minoura Katsundo, Nakano Buei. In the end the extreme step of dissolution was advised, and the *Kaishintō* continued to drag out a more or less moribund existence until new life was infused into it by the spirit of the movement in favour of the amalgamation of progressive political parties in common opposition to the Government, which was started in Kiushu as early as 1883 but did not develop strength for some years later.

The Government had all this time not neglected preparation for the inauguration of the promised Constitution. Itō Hirobumi, the great Japanese Statesman, to whose ability and research the Japanese system owes more than to any other man, returned from Europe in August 1883 after fully completing his investigations, and devoted himself to the work of drawing up the Constitution. On March 17, 1884 the **Seido-tori-shirabe-kioku* (制度取調局) was formed in the Imperial

* Bureau for investigation concerning the Constitution.

Household Department and Itō was appointed head over it. H.E. also a few days later succeeded Marquis Tokudaiji as Minister of the Department in question. His constitutional work was thus closely associated with the Imperial House, the source and fountain of Government in Japan, in order that the task might be accomplished under the personal supervision of His Majesty. This was the reason, given by reliable authorities, why the Household, rather than any of the other Departments of State, was selected. It showed clearly that the Emperor was to remain the "Head of the Empire, combining in "Himself the rights of sovereignty," though it was determined, with His sanction, that their exercise should be thereafter guided by the provisions of the Constitution which was a free gift from Him to His people. The evolution of the Constitution went on apace. To pave the way for the Ordinance regarding the House of Peers which was auxiliary to and promulgated along with the Constitution on February 11, 1889, a Notification determining the new Orders of Nobility was issued on July 7, 1884. Titles were conferred, in a fashion copied from the West, upon persons of noble descent and upon civil and military officers who had rendered signal service in the Restoration. 12 Princes, 24 Marquises, 74 Counts, 321 Viscounts, 69 Barons were created, 500 Peers in all. Various other reforms, necessitated by the new era of Constitutional Government, were instituted. Towards the end of the year 1885 the Cabinet system was remodeled and the present arrangement and nomenclature of Departments of State was introduced. Itō became Minister President besides retaining the post of Minister of the Imperial Household Department.

For the next few years the political world was comparatively calm. Mr. Itagaki on his return from his European trip, did not justify the hope that a renewal of political activity would immediately follow, going at once to his native place. The intense zeal of 1882 was wanting, but all the time, though the people directed their energies principally into other channels, they did not allow themselves entirely to lose interest in politics. Of the *Kaishintō* during this time it was said that its members were in the main occupied with ordinary affairs or with writing. On the surface there was little to indicate that political matters interested the nation at large.

PERIOD 2.

After a while, however, signs of returning animation began to appear. In April 1886 the *Kaishintō* presented a memorial dealing with the questions of local Autonomy and freedom of speech and public Meeting. In September 1886 a number of the prominent adherents of the defunct *Jiyutō* met for consultation in Tōkiō and sentiments favourable to the sinking of petty differences and the formation of one great united party were expressed.

Some of the leaders of the *Kaishintō* were also known to be well-disposed towards union. Here we have the Commencement of the movement towards the creation of the amalgamated association known as the *Daidō-danketsu* (大同團結). Both Itagaki and Gōtō used their influence in 1887 to effect a union and political activity became more and more marked from the year mentioned. The * *Tei-gai* Club (丁亥倶樂部)

* Hinoto-i, the designation of the year 1887. Hence the '87 Club.

was formed by the exertions of the latter in October and its members were drawn from various parties. The manifesto stated that the object was the union in practice of those of like ideas already united in theory, organization and inter-communication.

Rigorous enforcement of the regulations regarding newspapers and public meetings was continued all this time by the Government. Newspapers were as before suspended continually and it was practically impossible, owing to the minute and what might be termed vexatious requirements of the law, to hold a public meeting uninterrupted by the police with an order to dissolve. The natural consequence of the deprivation of freedom of public meeting was the holding of private and secret meetings instead. The Government were well aware of the growing discontent and for further security considered more coercive measures necessary. They issued the *Ho-an Jō-rei* (保安條例), Peace Preservation Regulations, on December 25, 1887, prohibiting secret associations under a penalty of minor confinement for not less than one month and not more than two years, in addition to a fine from 10 to 100 *yen*. Under the ban of this enactment fell such well-known men as Hoshi Tōru, Hayashi Yūzō, Nakajima Nobuyuki, Ozaki Yukio, Kataoka Kenkichi, Nakae Tokusuke, Takenouchi Tsuna, Nishiyama Shichō and hundreds of others, who were banished from Tōkiō to a distance of 3 *ri* at 24 hours' notice. Great was the excitement which followed the enforcement of these reactionary regulations. The revised newspaper regulations issued on December 28, 1887 were, however, a distinct advance in the direction of liberty.

It must, nevertheless, always be borne in mind that, however harsh legislation at times appeared, the Government pressed steadily forward in the path of reform and progress. On April 28, 1888 the *Sūmitsu-in* (樞密院), Privy Council, was formed with Itō as President, a Vice-President, twelve members (of whom one was Kōno Benken), a Chief and several other Secretaries. This new body was created that it might constitute an advisory Chamber to The Emperor on matters of State. It was understood that that time had been purposely chosen for its inauguration in order that its deliberations might be in a special measure concerned with questions which might arise in regard to the National Assembly and the Constitution. The creation of the Council was regarded with pleasure by the people and its membership, seemed to them a fulfilment of the promise given by the Emperor to select as his advisers men of ability. The inaugural ceremony was performed by H.M. The Emperor in person on May 8. On his appointment as President of the Privy Council, Itō resigned his position as Minister President of State, which was taken by Count Kuroda. Thus did the former continue to concentrate his attention upon the preparation of the Constitution. On May 25, 1888 the draft of the Constitution was laid before the Privy Council for consideration in the presence of the Emperor.

An important political event occurred on February 1, 1888 in the reconciliation of Count Ōkuma with his former Colleagues and his re-entry into the Government. He this time took the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. It was rumoured that the consent of the Count to resume office was obtained on the basis of the adoption by the

Government of the programme of the *Kaishintō*, but the exact truth did not transpire. This return to office was, however, welcomed by the organs of the party. Though the complaint of lack of suitable leaders was now again heard among the political parties, no cessation in their renewed activity was observable. On the contrary, increasing vigour appeared. The *Meiji* Club was formed by members of the *Kaishintō* in the Autumn of 1888, the *Jichi* Club of Count Inoue was projected and Viscount Torio Koyata founded the *Hoshi-chū-sei-tō* (保守中正黨), Moderate Conservative Party, in the following winter, his idea being to occupy a position of moderation and independence in politics. Then we must note the existence of a strong body of Conservatives under the name of the *Koku-sui ho-zon-tō* (國粹保存黨). Likewise, not to omit mention of the Liberals, Hoshi Toru started the *Kwantō Kwai* in March 1889.

February 11, 1889 stands out as one of the epoch-marking days in the annals of Japan. On that day the Constitution was promulgated. His Majesty in person performed the ceremony in the Throne Room of the new Palace at 10.30 a.m. The function, at which the writer of this sketch had the honour of being present, was most stately and impressive. With a few brief sentences expressive of the Imperial satisfaction at the prosperity of the nation, of hope for the future, and of confidence in the hearty cooperation of the people in the work of Government, the Constitution of Modern Japan was ushered in. The system is divided into seven chapters containing seventy six articles which set forth the Constitutional provisions relating to (1) The Emperor, (2) the rights and duties of Subjects, (3)

The Imperial Diet, (4) The Ministers of State and the Privy Council, (5) the Judicature, (6) Finance, and (7) Supplementary Regulations. The Japanese Constitution maintains the form of an absolute Monarchy, for the Emperor stands Supreme and has reserved to himself certain rights, such as the issuing of Ordinances for the putting into operation of laws, of declaring war and peace, etc. On the other hand the liberty of the subject is respected, and the right of freedom of speech and public meeting and the free exercise of religion within the limits prescribed by law, are recognized. The Prussian model is seen to have been copied, but in such a way as to make the production correspond with the peculiar circumstances of Japan. At the same time were issued, as necessary adjuncts to the Constitution, the Imperial House Law, the Imperial Ordinance concerning the House of Peers, the Law of the Houses, the Law of Election of the members of the House of Representatives, and the Law of Finance. The Law for the Organization of Cities, Towns and Villages, which had for its purpose the extension of local Self-Government, took effect on April 1, 1889.

In the summer and autumn of 1888 Count Gotō made tours throughout the north eastern Provinces, in order to impart to the nation his belief in the advantages of union. His motto was *daidō-shō-i*, similarity in great things, difference in small things. He directed his attack upon the clan system of Government and thus speedily made his the popular cause. And meetings were held at Ōsaka, in Kiushu under the auspices of the Kiushu *Kaishintō*, and elsewhere, at which resolutions in favour of one grand organization were passed.

The *Daidō dan-ketsu* (大同團結) thus came into existence as a great unorganized body, the bond of union between its members being slight and loose. No long career was in store for it. Though it had its own organ, the *Seiron* (政論), it was never formally entered as a political association. The absence of any definite aims from the first rendered its tenure of life insecure, and it was sneered at by its detractors as a party without a programme. On May 10, 1889 the *Dai-dō dan-ketsu* fell to pieces, its demise being considerably accelerated by the entry of Count Gotō, the chief promoter and leading spirit, into the Cabinet in the preceding March. The immediate cause of the break-up was difference of opinion as to whether or not the body should be formally constituted as a political organization. On that work the party split. The more radical of the members supported the view adverse to constitution as a political association and made the cry of *hi-sei-sha-setsu* (非政社說) their motto. Of this side Ōi Kentarō was a warm upholder, and he carried with him Naitō Roitsu, Arai Shōgo, Saitō Keiji, etc. They seceded from the *Daidō danketsu* and set up the *Daidō Kiōwa Kwai* (大同協和會) a Society for the promotion of friendly intercourse between its members. But the majority of the *Daidō dan-ketsu* held the opinion that they should form themselves into a proper political association (*sei sha setsu*, 政社說). So they proceeded to enrol themselves in a Society with articles of association, which they styled the *Daidō* Club, preserving in its name the idea of a grand Union. To this section adhered Messrs. Kōno, Inukai, Suehiro, Ueki Imori, Yagiwara Hanshi, Kudō Kōkan, Inoue Kakugoro, Inagaki

Shimesu, ect., and it represented the moderates. Vigorous efforts were undertaken by Gotō and also by Itagaki to effect a re-union, but for a time they proved unavailing.

Treaty Revision, that burning question which was in the forefront of political issues in Japan for so many years, did more than anything else to discover a common ground on which all popular parties could cast aside their wrangles and be at one. The longer the negotiations were protracted, the more exacting grew the people's demands. Party politicians began to devote their minds more particularly to attacks upon the Government for its policy in regard to the revision of the Treaties. The groups into which the *Daidō danketsu* had divided were brought together again for the time being, by their desire to defeat any revision programme by which Japan failed to secure terms of absolute equality. And the *Nippon* Club was created by Marquis Asano, Viscount Tani and Viscount Miura with identical aims. Many were the memorials presented, chiefly in favour of the suspension of the conferences then going on. The climax to the opposition to the various schemes of revision, and to that then under consideration, came when Count Ōkuma narrowly escaped assassination in October 1889 on his return to the Foreign Office from a drive. The negotiations then lapsed for some years, until the time when they were reopened, and resulted in the first instance in the Revised Treaty between Great Britain and Japan of July 16, 1894.

After the abrupt stoppage of the Treaty Revision Conferences, Count Itagaki again tried to exert his influence to re-form a United Party. But though the veteran

party leader succeeded in lessening the breach between the opposing factions, union was, for a time at least, out of the question. Messrs Ōi Kentarō, Watanabe Kotarō, and their friends wished to revive the defunct *Jiyūtō*, while members of the *Daidō* Club favoured the revival of the *Aikokukōtō*, and so matters stood towards the end of 1889 when Ōsaka became once more the centre of political activity. Mutual concession still proving unattainable, and the mutual jealousies of the various leaders being found to be in the meantime insurmountable, those who still followed the banner of the old *Jiyūtō*, were split up into three factions. In January 1890 the *Jiyūtō* was again established in name,* and it was decided to re-organize the *Aikoku kō-tō* as a separate body under Count Itagaki. The latter had fixed its opening ceremony for the 15th of April in the year just mentioned; but, meeting on that day, merely published its manifesto, thus leaving the way open for reconciliation. A Committee representative of the three factions was shortly appointed to confer, Messrs Kōno, Itagaki, Suehiro, Inoue etc. representing the *Daidō* Club; Messrs Nishiyama, Shioda, Ishida, etc., the *Aihoku kōtō*; and Messrs Ōi, Arai, etc., the revived *Jiyūtō*. In the end the *Kō-En* Club (庚寅) was established, the Authorities receiving the requisite notice on the 17th, of June 1890. In Kiūshū a movement was set on foot again in April to foster a spirit of union and the † *Kiūshū Dōshi Kwai* an independent local organizatlon did much towards ac-

* Though divided into the *Kwantō Jiyūtō* led by Ō-i Kentarō and the *Kwansai Jiyūtō* under the leadership of Kobayashi Kusuo.

† Its motto being desire for Union with all parties of progressive principles.

omplishing this object by the despatch of delegates to he north who interviewed and obtained promises of support from Count Itagaki and others of the *Jiyūtō*, likeise from the leaders of the *Kaishintō*. A basis for nion was provisionally found. A Great Meeting of hose in favour of Union in Kiūshū,* was held at Kagohima on June 15. Delegates were once more despatchd to Tōkiō, who had interviews with leading men of ll parties. The *Kaishintō* also appeared likely to fall nto line with the others. Some of the principal newspapers of the capital such as the *Hōchi*, *Kokumin*, *Chōya*, *Yomiuri*, supported the scheme with enthusiasm. At hat period, however, the attention of the public was occupied with the first General election which took place from the 1st, of July † 1890. The election resulted as follows —

Independent	69
Daidō ha ‡	55
Kaishin tō	46
Aikoku tō ‡	35
Hoshu tō (Conservatives)	22
Kiūshū Shimpo tō (an independent local progressive organization)...	21
Jiyūtō ‡	16
Ji-chi tō (自治)	17

* Kiūshū Dōshi Rengō Tai-kwai.)

† The figures are taken from the *Tei-koku Gi-kwai-Shi*, which gives them on the Authority of a certain newspaper at the time, and considers that they convey the truth approximately. Other publications give a slight difference but in the main similar computation. It will be noticed that there is one member too many, the total being 300.

‡ Belonging to the *Kō-in* Club.

Officials 18
Uncertain... 2

It will be seen from the above how divided up the various factions were. The *Daidō ha* had the largest individual representation, after the independents.

After the elections were over the question of union resumed its prominence in view of the impotence of the many factions represented in the Diet should they remain independent of each other. The active *Kiūshū Dōshi Kwai* was determined not to let the matter rest and held a meeting at Fukuoka on the 20th, July 1890, with the object of uniting all the parties of progress, and once more sent representatives to Tōkiō to assist their cause. The *Tōhoku shichi shū kwai* (東北七州會) formed in the seven provinces of the north East by the amalgamation of those of progressive views, likewise met at Akita on the 26th and came to a decision in favour of union. But while an impetus was thus being given to the movement in favour of the formation of a large popular party from both extremes of the Empire, the Government deemed it necessary to prevent a reconciliation which might lead to their finding all political parties ranged under one banner in opposition. On July 25, 1890 was issued the Law of Public Meetings and Political Associations, *Shū Kwai Sei-sha hō* (集會政社法). By Article 28 of that law political parties were forbidden *inter alia* to establish branch offices or to combine or correspond with other associations of a kindred nature. A sudden blow was thus dealt to the hopes of the unionists and it became a question of what was now the proper procedure to be adopted. The *Jiyūtō* and *Kiūshū Dōshi Kai* at once decided to dissolve as a step

towards Union, the *Aikokukōtō* being of the same mind, but dissolution not being in its case necessary as it had not been formally constituted.

Conferences now took place between the representatives of the various parties which had just ceased to have a corporate existence and those which still retained their old constitution. On August 12, a meeting was held at the house of Mr. Kawashima Jun (of Kagoshima) in Hirakawachō Kōjimachi, Tōkiō, and attended by Messrs Naitō Roitsu, Ōi Kentarō, Nakae Tokusuke of the old *Jiyūtō*; Messrs Shimada, Takata Sanae, Katō Masanosuke of the *Kaishintō*, Messrs Hayashi, Kataoka, Sugita Teiichi, of the old *Aikokukōtō*, Messrs Kōno Hironaka, Suzuki Shōji, Ōe Taku, of the *Daitō* Club, and Messrs Yamada Buho, Matsuda Masahisa and Kawashima Iun of the old *Kiūshū Dōshikwai*. At the same time a Committee of ten was appointed, including Kōno, to consult regarding the establishment of a new party. On August 17, the *Daidō* Club, whose co-operation had from the first been doubtful, all at once changed its point of view and deciding to dissolve, became an ardent advocate of the views to which it had become converted. The zeal of the *Kaishin-tō* towards alliance had by this time cooled, and differences with the *Daidō* Club tended to increase the estrangement. At a meeting held on August 25, which was attended by 13 members of the old *Aikokukōtō*, 13 of the old *Jiyūtō*, 13 of the old *Daidō* Club, 13 of the old *Kīnshū dōshi kwai*, and by representatives of the Gumma *Kōgi Kwai* and Kiōto *Kōyū Kwai* at the *Atago Kan* Shiba, it was decided to form a party called the *Rikken Jiyūtō* (Constitutional Liberal Party). On the 15th of September the ceremony of for-

mation took place. They declared themselves to have at heart liberal principles, respect for the Imperial House, enlargement of popular rights, relaxation of Governmental interference in domestic matters, a representative system of Government, party cabinets and treaties of equality.

A manifesto was issued in 10 articles, proclaiming:—

1. That Government business should be rendered simple and expenditure curtailed.
2. Adjustment of naval and military preparations.
3. Reform of the Educational System.
4. Revision of the Law of Finance and careful supervision of national revenue and expenditure.
5. Reform of public debt and of the system under which Government property was held.
6. Revision of Taxation Laws and reduction of land tax.
7. Reform of procedure for the protection of private undertakings.
8. Reform of Local Government and adjustment of Local Finances.
9. Revision of all laws relating to speech, public meeting and political association and abolition of the Peace Preservation Regulations.
10. Revision of the Law of the Houses and the election law.

It is noteworthy that the question of party cabinets is now raised publicly in a most express manner. Briefly, the other points amount to the reduction of Government expenditure and taxation, more local self Government and revision or abolition of laws calculated to restrict freedom, with alteration of Educational System.

The new association was not looked upon with favour by the *Kaishintō* who wished the expression *Kaishin*, "reform," which helped to form their style and title, used in naming the new amalgamated party. In the end therefore its members decided definitely to hold aloof from union.

The independent members of the Diet after considerable negotiation and discussion resolved on August 20, upon the formation of their own party which they named the *Taisei Kwai* (party of great accomplishments) (大成會). Messrs Motoda Hajime, Yoshino Seikei, Oyagi Kiichirō and Sugiura Jūzō, Masuda Shigeyuki, Nakamura Yaroku belonged to it. This party may be regarded as the successor of the *Rikken-teisei-kwai* and the predecessor of the *Kokumin Kiōkwai* and *Teikoku tō*. It was from the first inclined to support the Government and soon openly took its part. According to the public declaration, the *Taisei Kwai* was to preserve a moderate attitude, being biassed in no direction. Reasoning conservatism was practically its motto.

But another and entirely separate association saw the light a few months later. Some of the followers of Count Gotō, members of the *Nichiyō kwai* (日曜會), just started by (Inagaki Shimesu and 14 others), of the *Genyōsha* (玄洋社) of Fukuoka the *Dōsei kwai* (同成會) of Saga and of associations at Kumamoto, Ōita, Miyagi, Nagasaki, met at the Ōyūkwan, Asakusa, Tōkiō, on November 1, 1890, and decided to establish the *Kokumin Jiyūtō* (國民自由黨), National Liberal Party. The opening ceremony took place on December 21, when Mr. Yoshida Masaharu delivered an address. The programme laid down was (1.) Expansion of the Navy, (2.) Reduction of National Expenditure, (3) Reduction of

Land Tax, (4.) Amendment of Law of Conscription. The *Kokumin Jiyūtō* was regarded with disfavour both by the *Rikken Jiyūtō* and by the *Kaishintō*, and it was never a particularly powerful body.

The *Genrō-In* having with the establishment, of the House of Peers and the House of Representatives ceased to have a *raison d'être* and was abolished on the 20th of October 1890.

The long expected opening of the Diet took place on November 29, 1890. At the ceremony which marked the occasion His Majesty announced, in a speech which he read, that all institutions relating to internal administration established since his accession to the throne had been brought to a condition approaching completeness. It was hoped to extend the scope of these measures and to reap good fruit from the working of the Constitution.

* In the House of Peers there were 252 members viz :—

Imperial	Princes	10
	Princes	10
	Marquises	21
	Counts	15
	Viscounts	70
	Barons	20
	Highest taxpayers	45
†	Imperial Nominees ...	61
		252

* From the *Kizoku-in Yōran* (貴族院要覧)

† Selected from the Court Councillors (3), the old members of the *Genrō-In*, (27), the Legislative Bureau (2), the President and Professors of the Imperial University (6), Various Government Departments (10), the rest from among the people, (*Meiji Nempō*).

The membership of the Lower House under the old election law was 300. In the election for President of the Lower House House, the *Jiyūtō* with the factions supporting them showed that they were in a compact majority. Mr. Nakajima Nobuyuki (of Kōchi), their candidate, being successful. For Vice-President Mr. Isuda Mainichi, (a celebrated student of Law, who was at one time a Judge, and a member of the Senate) belonging to the *Taisei kwai* obtained election. Now, for the first time, political parties had the opportunity they had so long sought of confronting the clan statesmen in a place where they were more or less at liberty to speak their minds. Nor was it long before they came to loggerheads with the government. The fight began, as it has so often done since then, over money matters. Reduction of the land tax and of salaries was demanded. The *Jiyūtō* and the *Kaishintō* were found side by side in opposition, while the *Taiseikwai* made common cause with the Government. A dispute also arose over the condition to which it was proposed to bring naval and military preparations. The *Jiyūtō*, however, was rent in two by wrangles, as often before and subsequently. Suehiro Shigeyasu and Inoue Kakugorō, who were noted for their independence of mind, were expelled from the party, and Ōe Taku (son in law of Count Gotō), Takenouchi, Suzuki and others seceded. Twenty-nine of the old *Aikoku-sha* members, including Messrs Kataoka, Hayashi, Ueki and others warm supporters of Count Itagaki, separated from the party on February 24, 1891; and Itagaki himself followed their example on the 26th after fruitless efforts had been made to smooth matters over, owing to the disorganized state of the party, giving, as

his reason that he had no part in their counsels. As regards the difference with the Government, a compromise was effected by a reduction of several million *yen* from the estimates. From the subsequent action of the parties, and of the *Jiyūtō* in particular, it would appear that their opposition was actuated more by a desire to place obstacles in the way of the clan Government than by any fixed principles. They gave way, however, before matters reached a climax lest the first Session of the Diet should be brought to a sudden and untimely end. So the first united attack in the Diet upon the Government made by the combined forces of the *Jiyūtō* and *Kaishintō* resulted in the main in a victory for the former.

It was very evident that a reorganization of the *Jiyūtō* was necessary and steps were immediately taken towards that end. Itagaki did not keep apart long, and at a meeting held at Ōsaka on March 24, 1891, he was elected President and the words *Rikken* were erased from the party name, which once again became the *Jiyūtō*. A declaration was issued on May 29, in which the programme was set forth to be (1.) Domestic Government to be based on Local Self Government, (2.) Good faith and friendliness to be the chief aim in foreign affairs, (3.) Naval and military preparations to be on a defensive basis, (4.) Financial retrenchment suited to national resources, (5.) Protections to be chiefly along lines tending to the public advantage, (6) Freedom of Education, (7) Strengthening the Independence of the Judiciary, (8) Facilitation of Communication, (9) Extension of the powers of the legislative.

The *Jiyūtō* then devoted its attention to perfecting its

organization and extending its influence. Count Itagaki started shortly afterwards on a tour to the North-East and delegates were sent to the west.

An important organization appeared in March 1891 called the *Kiōdō* (Union) Club (共同倶樂部) which was originated by Messrs Inoue, Suehiro, Ōe and Suematsu. Its component parts came from the *Taisei kwai*, *Kokumin Jiyūtō*, *Jichitō* and Kumamoto *Kokkentō*. The Club was composed of members of the Diet who were to take steps for the national progress and the promotion of intercourse between its members. It was meant to be a support to the Government and steps were taken to influence popular feeling in its favour by a campaign throughout the country.

Attempts were again set on foot which resulted in a rapprochement between the *Jiyūtō* and *Kaishintō*. The indefatigable *Kiūshū* Club in the early Autumn met to endeavour to promote union of parties and Itagaki on his return from his tour in the N.E. paid a visit on November 8, to Ōkuma. In the end, Count Ōkuma gave up his post as Privy Councillor on the 12th, and a large meeting was held on the 17th at the Ōyūkwan, Asakusa, attended by members of the Diet representative of the *Jiyūtō* (72), *Kaishintō* (37), Unattached (25), including *Taiseikwai* (2), and joint action for the purpose of presenting a united front to the Government was decided upon. When the Diet met for the second time, November 21, 1891, the Budget was again selected as the point of attack and the bills for the establishment of the Iron Foundry, for the construction of men-of-war, for the state payment of Prison Expenditure and for the state purchase of private railways,—all of which, except-

ing the last, have by now been passed—were thrown out. The nature of the attack showed that the opposition was in the main captious and the co-operation between the parties leaving no immediate hope of amicable arrangement, the Government ordered the Diet to dissolve on the 26, December 1891, somewhat to the surprise and dismay of the allied opposition (consisting of the five bodies, the *Jiyūtō*, *Jiyū* Club, *Kaishintō Tomoe* Club and *Dokuritsu* Club. This was the first but by no means the last instance of compulsory dissolution.

The *Taisen Kwai* dissolved on the date mentioned, because the majority of the party had ceased to support the Government, and because of the impending elections. The *Jiyei* Club returned to the *Jiyūtō* and issued an appeal to the public explanatory of its attitude towards the Government and inviting the people to judge of its efforts to lay a solid foundation for constitutional Government. The second General Election was held from February 15, 1892, and was the occasion of many scenes of turbulence in all parts of the country, particularly in Kōchi Prefecture no few persons (several hundreds) being wounded and even killed in local disturbances. By the people the Government were accused bitterly of interference in the elections, and this cry was taken up strongly and used as an instrument wherewith to recommence the struggle with the Government on the re-opening of the Diet.

The opposition parties assisted each other at the polls and their elected canditates were classed by some newspapers under the general appellation of the popular party *Min-tō* (民黨). We also see that on the other hand there was a distinct party openly taking the side of the

Government, which was termed the *Ri-tō* (吏黨). The result of the General Election was:—

Jiyūtō	100
Kaishintō	40
Govt. Party (Old *Taisei kwai* etc.)	110
Unattached (including supporters of the United Parties and Govt. supporters). ...	05

The United Parties consequently counted a majority. After previous separate gathering, they held a joint meeting on May 1, 1892, to prepare for the extra-ordinary Session of the Diet (Session No. 3.) which was to begin next day. Hoshi Tōru was elected President of the Lower House on the 2nd and Sone Arasuke, now Baron and at present Minister of Finance, Vice-President.

On the 14th the motion that the Government was responsible for interference in the late elections passed the House of Representatives, an address to the throne on the same subject having been rejected two days before. The violence of the attack made upon the Government induced the latter on the 16th to suspend the session for seven days. There was a great commotion and the fear lest misguided adherents of the opposition parties might carry the attack beyond the limits of verbal warfare led to a large number of Sōshi and of sympathizers with the opposition outside of the House, being ordered to leave the capital under the Peace Preservation Law on May 21. The attack made upon Takata Sanae, of the *Yomiuri Shimbun* and a prominent member of the *Kaishintō*, caused a fresh order for 39 sōshi of Fukuoka Prefecture to leave the capital on the 30th. These were indeed troublous times. On the re-assembling of the

members on the 31st the Lower House erased the Expenditure upon men-of-war and a Steel Factory and the expenditure in connection with the subject of the investigation of Earthquakes. The Upper House manifested what has since come to be recognized as its habitual attitude towards the financial wishes of the other chamber by promptly restoring these items. The usual compromise was resorted to, the first item being disallowed, the second passed.

To meet the growing power of the opposition the Government Association called the *Kokumin Kiōkwai* (國民協會) (Nationalist Society), successor to the *Taiseikwai*, was projected, Messrs Watanabe Kōki, Sone, Tsuda etc. took a leading part in the work. A meeting for organization was held on June 20, 1891.

Marquis Saigo* and Viscount Shinagawa resigned their official positions as Privy Councillors in order to be able to become President and Vice-President respectively. The alliance with the Government, however, did not last long.

On August 8, 1892 a new Cabinet came into power, headed by Itō, and they took up an attitude of neutrality towards the *Kokumin Kiōkwai*. On November 10, a general meeting was held at which the rules of the party and the policy were published. But from then the number of its adherents in the Diet fell off considerably.

Towards the end of 1892 the *Dōmei* Club was instituted being composed of old members, of the *Taiseikwai* and unattached members, iucluding Messrs Kusu-

* (then Count).

noto Masataka, Nakamura Yaroku,* Kawashima Jun, Suzuki Jūen.

The 4th Session of the Diet was approaching and here were premonitory signs that it would not fail to e a stormy one. It met on November 25, 1892. On anuary 17, 1893 the Lower House suspended its sitings for five days of its own accord after having vainly ndeavoured to persuade the Government to alter their udgetary proposals for the financial year 1893-94, hich were under examination. This was done with the vowed object of affording the Authorities time for relection. A joint motion impeaching the Government was about to be brought in by Messrs Kōno Hironaka of the *Jiyūtō*, Inukai Ki of the *Kaishintō* and Suzuki Jūen of the *Dōmei Kwai* when an Imperial order was eceived proroguing the House for 15 days. On its repening on February 7, an address to the throne with ference to the Budget, complaining of the action of e Ministers of State, was passed. A petition was prented to the Emperor by Mr. Hoshi Tōru, as President, presenting the House, on the 8th and His Majesty mised to give it his attention. The solution of the blem came on the 10th when the Emperor issued an er furnishing †three hundred thousand *yen* from the y Purse towards the expenditure in connection with building of men-of-war, and providing that one tenth uld be deducted similarly from all official salaries, cepting, such as might be specially exempted, for six s for the same purpose. Thus the crisis was at an

*Now Governor of Fukuoka Prefecture.

†One tenth of the annual fixed appropriation for the expenditure of Imperial Household Department.

end, and the Imperial Gift was welcomed by an outburst of loyal enthusiasm by the people. For their part the Government promised to effect retrenchment as far as possible in future, to reform the executive, reduce expenditure and introduce radical reforms into the navy.

This session was also remarkable for the passing of the amendment of the Law of Public Meetings and Associations whereby a much larger measure of liberty of public meeting was secured and the rights of political associations were considerably extended. These reforms the Representatives had been endeavouring to bring about for three sessions. Taking advantage of the revision of the law referred to, the various parties set about the creation of branches in the Provinces, and prepared in other ways to build up their strength. Combinations of political parties were however still forbidden, the Cabinet fearing to make this further concession in the existing state of public feeling.

Later in 1893 the Government issued, according to promise, the reforms in the navy and in official organization of Government, the former in May and the latter in October. The Reforms were not deemed satisfactory, more particularly by the Progressionists. As was pointed out by the *Mainichi Shimbun* at the time, they merely amounted to a certain reduction in expenditure. What was required was radical re-organization of the administrative system and a change from the Government of the clans to the Government of the people.

In connection with the problem of Treaty Revision the matter of mixed Residence had become a burning question on the close of the Diet. There had come into existence in 1892 the *Jōyaku Kaisei Kenkiū Kwai* (of Mr.

Hoshi and others) the *Naichi Zakkio Kōkin Kwai* (of Messrs Motoda, Ōi others) and the *Zakkio Mondai Kenkiū Kwai.*

In October 1893 a conservative party called the *Dai Nippon Kiōkwai* (大日本協會), Japan Society, was formed with opposition to mixed residence as its standard.

The co-operation between the *Jiyūtō* and the *Kaishintō* which had at the last session of the Diet been brought to bear against the Government, soon ceased.

In January 1893 Mr. Hoshi Tōru delivered one of his well remembered speeches in Tōkiō in which he declared that the aims of the two parties were divergent and that there could be no sympathy between thens. This led to mutual recrimination, Mr. Shimada and others taking up the cudgels for the *Kaishintō.* The organs of the two parties also differed as to the results of the session of the Diet during which they had stood side by side and the breach widened. But it was not only beteen his own party and outsiders that Mr. Hoshi was instrumental in creating bad feeling. In the *Jiyūtō* also he sowed the seeds of dissension. His unpopularity grew owing owing to the Sōma and other affairs in which his conduct was subjected to much criticism, and in the end he himself withdrew his name for a time from its membership. On December 2, 1893 some of the Liberals hostile to Hoshi and not adverse to an understanding with the Progressionists, including Messrs Haseba Junkō, (representative of Kagoshima) Kikuchi Kuro (representative of Aomori), Kobayashi Kusuo (reprentative of Okayama) seceded, and ranged themselves together under the name of the *Dōshi* Club. They received a warm welcome from the Progressionists.

The 5th Session commenced November 25, 1893 and the Government found themselves face to face with a disorganized opposition. The Progressionists and their allies, the *Dōmei* Club, the *Dōshi* Club, the *Kokumin Kiōkwai* and the *Dai Nippon Kiōkwai* turned their unfriendly attention to Mr. Hoshi at first rather than to the Government and succeeded in having him expelled from the House of Representatives. Mr. Kusumoto was elected President in his place and Mr. Abei Iwane became Vice-President. After getting rid of the late President, the parties in the Diet were able to give all their mind to finding fault with the actions of the Government. Representations with reference to the strict enforcement of the treaties and concerning the *Chishima Ravenna* case appeared to the Authorities to be of such a nature as to call for the prorogation of the House. The session was accordingly suspended for ten days from the 19th of December; but as the members were found to be in no more conciliatory mood on its reassembling, suspension for fourteen days more was then ordered. On the 30th, however, the House of Representatives was dissolved.

March 1, 1894 was the time of the 3rd General Election. It resulted as follows:—

Jiyūtō	120
Kaishintō	60
Kokumin Seisha (*Kokumin Kiōkwai*)	35
Dōshi Seisha...	24
Dōmei Seisha	18
Seinuchōsha	5
Dai Nippon Kiōkwai	8
Unattached and uncertain	30

The *Jiyūtō* still continued antagonistic to the *Kaishintō*

and their allies, styled commonly the *Roppa* (六派), * six factions. An inclination to take the side of the Government was observable on the part of the *Jiyūtō*, while the others remained bitterly hostile and showered abuse upon their quondam friends for their desertion. Hoshi Tōru returned to his own party on May 4. With regard to their political opponents, the *Dōshi* Club amalgamated with the *Dōmei* Club, forming the *Kōdō* Club. This again was transformed into the *Rikken Kakushintō* (立憲解新黨) Constitutional Reform Party, on May 3, 1894. The leading spirits were Kusumoto Masataka, Kawashima Jun, Suzuki Jūen, Nakamura Yaroku, Kodōkōkan, Ōhigashi Gitetsu. The *Kaishintō* succeeded in forming a coalition of various leading newspapers *Hōchi*, *Chūō*, *Nippon*, *Yomiuri*, *Mainichi*, *Shin Chōya*, largely through the efforts of Mr. Tokutomi Iichirō of the *Kokumin Shimbun*. This combination was regarded by its friends as sounding the death knell of clan Government, by the *Jiyūtō* as an attempt to retard their own growing influence. On April 22, 1894 Messrs Inukai and Takenouchi of the *Chūgoku Shimpo tō*, Sasa Tomofusa and Ōoka Ikuzō of the *Kokumin Kiōkwai*, Shudō Rikuzō and Takaki Seinen of the *Kaishintō*, Suzuki Jūen, Ōhigashi Gitetsu, Kodō Kōkan of the *Kōdō* Club, Abei Iwane, Kōmuchi Tomotsune, Ōi Kentarō, Wakabara Kanzui, of the *Dai Nippon Kiōkwai*, Viscounts Shimazu, Tani and Soga of the Peers, and United Newspaper editors, such as Suehiro Shigeyasu of the *Chōya*, Kuga Minoru of the *Nippon*, Tokutomi Iichirō of the *Kokumin*, Koizuka of the

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* *Kaishintō*, *Dōshi* Club, *Dōmei* Club, *Kokumin Kiōkwai*, *Seimuchōsa ha*, *Dai Nippon Kiōkwai*.

Mainichi, with Ōhashi Sahei of the *Hakubunsha*, etc., met at the Maple Club, Shiba, in demonstration of their desire for a national union of parties against clan Govvernment. In May further meetings were held of those in sympathy with the movement and resolutions were passed in favour of responsible cabinets and a strong foreign policy.

The 6th Session of the Diet assembling May 12, 1894 in a way met with a repetition of the experience of its predecessor. Attacks upon the Cabinet for its foreign and domestic policy brought about a dissolution on June 2.

Now we come to one of the most crucial periods in the history of Japan. War with China was declared on the 1st of August 1894, and the stern realities of a foreign struggle put a stop to domestic jealousies and conflicts, and united the whole nation. Activity was directed from home politics to foreign affairs and the result was that the cabinet had a comparatively free hand in dealing with the difficulties comfronting it, and in the end proved of longer duration than any other cabinet which went before or followed.

The parties soon showed their determination that party strife should not interfere with national needs and that the country must present a united front to the enemy and took steps to show themselves in absolute accord with the Government on the subject.

The announcement of the solution of the weary problem of Treaty Revision being in sight owing to the signature of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty on July 16, 1894 also removed a great cause of quarrel between the Government and the party men.

The 4th General election took place on September 1,

4. The result was unfavourable to the *Jiyūtō*, the re-
.s being as follows:—

Jiyūtō	115
Kaishintō	47
Kakushintō	40
Kokumin Kiōkwai	35
Zaisei Kakushin-kwai	4
Chūgoku Shimpotō	4
Unattached (strong party)	25
„ (moderate)	30

- Declaration was made in October by the *Jiyūtō* to
effect that in spite of many points of divergence of
ion, the Government might count upon their support
the other parties changed their attitude of opposi-
So the 7th Session of the Diet, an extraordinary
which was opened, at Hiroshima, October 15, 1894,
umoto being President and Shimada, Vice-President,
he House of Representatives, was remarkable for its
imity. By a unanimous vote on October 20, extra-
ary military expenditure to the amount of one
red and fifty millions of *yen* was sanctioned.
he war still continuing, the 8th Session of the Diet
likewise characterized by absence of strife and a
mination to carry through the weighty business on
. It was called on December 22, 1894 in Tōkiō
closed formally on the 27th of the following March.
March 20, 1895 the Treaty providing for a cessation
ostilities was concluded and on April 17, the war
China, which had raised the position of Japan to a
place among the nations, came to an end.
he attitude of the *Jiyūtō* towards the Government
showed signs of continued improvement owing to

their support of the *post bellum* programme, and the transfer of Mr. Hoshi Tōru to Korea, as Adviser to the Peninsular Government, took out of the way a man likely to hinder an understanding between the party and those in power. By degrees the changed position taken up by the *Jiyūtō* manifested itself more and more.

In May 1895 their manifesto proclaimed that they would not needlessly attack the Government, though it was exhorted to carefulness.

On July 17, 1895 a meeting of parliamentary members of the *Jiyūtō* was held and the new platform of the party was determined as follows:—

1. The party was absolutely opposed to non-constitutional methods, bearing in mind the Imperial desires regarding the Constitution, and would labour for the perfect completion of a Constitutional form of Government.
2. Japan must not be content with the thought that she was the only strong Power in the East, but must take her place among the Powers and along with them preserve the peace of the world. The party should devote itself to the task.
3. Reform and Expansion of the navy and at the same time increase and perfection of the army to be aimed at.
4. Encouragement and development of navigation, commerce, colonization, agriculture, industry, etc., to be laboured for.
5. Although the party had its own ideas about sources of revenue, financial matters to be entrusted as far as might be to the Authorities and sanction or refusal to be given to them after due consideration.

6. By restriction of needless expenditure, national finances to be placed on a secure basis.

7. The Retrocession of the Liaotung peninsula was indeed regrettable, but this was certainly not the time for quarrelling, and thereby erring in great matters of state, but plans for the future were urgently required, so the party would labour for public rather than private ends in company with those of identical aims, in accordance with the dictates of true patriotism.

8. Korean independence to be placed on a firm foundation, its future necessitating much anxiety.

Here we have more than the platitudes we have been accustomed to expect from political parties in Japan. Distinct issues are to be found set forth and we can see clearly what the party have in their mind.

A further declaration was issued on November 22, notifying that an understanding had been come to with the Government with whom the *Jiyūtō* would work together in future.

Both declarations were confirmed at a General Meeting held on December 15.

The antagonism felt by the six factions towards the *Jiyūtō* was accentuated by its becoming for the time being a quasi Government party. By them official action was regarded with a much less lenient eye. On June 5 members of the *Kaishintō, Kokumin Kiōkwai, Kakushintō Chūgoku Shimpotō Zaisei Kakushin Kwai, Chūō Kurabu* met at the Atago Kwan, and constituted themselves an association of political friends in sympathy with each other, *Seiyū Yūshi Kwai* (政友有志會), with view to fixing Governmental responsibility for the re-

trocession of the Liaotung peninsula at the invitation of Russia, France and Germany. Some few of the *Jiyūtō* members joined themselves to this company. From the various allied groups opposed to the Government the *Dōshi Kwai* (同志會) was formed and it drew up a statesment in 13 articles which was agreed to ōn September 9, setting forth its principles. Thus great activity was displayed in the endeavour to fix the responsibility upon the Cabinet for what was deemed to be a national disgrace.

On December 25, 1895 commenced the 9th session of the Diet, and the opponents of the Government lost no time in seizing the opportunity they had been impatiently waiting for. A bill of impeachment was introduced into the House of Representatives on January 9, 1896, but was rejected by 170 to 103 votes. The impotence of the opposition was thus at once manifested and made more apparent than ever the need for strengthening the bonds of union. On the same day supporters of the anti-Government parties held a meeting at the *Kōyū Kwan*. The *Kakushintō* made up their minds on the 16th to despatch delegates to approach the several factions with the aim of amalgamation. At a Meeting held at the Imperial Hotel, Tōkiō, on January 18 union of parties inimical to the *Jiyūtō* under a new name was decided upon. The *Kokumin Kiōkwai*, however, which, originally founded as an official support, had for some time cooperated heartily in bitter opposition, had recently showed vacillation and a desire to hold back. So on the 19th its parliamentary representatives declined to have anything to do with the scheme for uniting. At the same time they renewed the attack upon the Govern-

ment by bringing in a motion of want of confidence on February 15, a step which led to the suspension of the session for ten days. During the interval Viscount Shinagawa exerted his influence with his party, successfully, to induce them to moderate their zeal; and on the reassembling of the Chamber the motion was withdrawn. The ninth session of the Diet therefore presented a continuous record of defeat for the "strong foreign policy" side.

The movement towards union went on rapidly, Messrs Inukai, Ozaki, Taguchi, Shimada, Suehiro, Taketomi, Takata Sanae, Takeuchi and others evincing active interest in it. On the 20th of February a resolution was passed at a meeting held at the Kinki Kwan, Kanda, in favour of the dissolution of all popular parties and the formation of one large political association, for the purpose of effecting a change of Cabinet and the taking of office by responsible Ministers. The result was that the *Shimpotō* (進歩黨), Progressive Party, was actually constituted on March 1. It was an amalgamation of the *Kaishintō*, of which it counted fifty one adherents in the House of Representatives, the *Kakushintō*, with thirty three parliamentary representatives, the *Ote* Club, six, *Chūgoku Shimpotō*, five, the *Zaisei Kakushin Kwai*, with three, and also had in its ranks five independent members. Their principles were set forth to be progress, the upholding of the dignity of the Imperial House and enlargement of the happiness and rights of the people.

Nor did their declaration differ much, except in the matter of insistence upon cabinet responsibility from most of the public utterances of all parties from the time of their inception. They demanded (1.) Reform of Admin-

istrative abuses and the establishment of responsible cabinets, (2.) reform of foreign policy and extension of national rights, (3.) adjustment of the finances and development of the undertakings of the people.

By virtue of the understanding which then existed between the Government and the *Jiyūtō*, the post-bellum programme was sanctioned and military and naval expansion was taken up. The 9th Session of the Diet was a memorable one and many projects of the highest importance were set on foot at that time.

In reward for the support of his party Itagaki was on April 14, 1896 admitted into the cabinet as Minister for Home affairs. Mr. Hoshi Tōru went as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States.

Not to be outdone by the *Jiyūtō* in the struggle for influence in the Councils of the State, the *Shimpotō* came to an understanding with some of the Satsuma Statesmen.

On the resignation of the Itō ministry the Matsukata-Ōkuma cabinet came into power.

The two great cries at the time were *Jinsai Tōyō* (selection of men of talent) and *Giōsei Seiri* (administrative adjustment), and party influence was found useful in helping candidates for office.

The *Shimpotō* held a large meeting on November 1, and announced that the policy of the Government did not differ greatly from that of themselves and that they would try to see it carried out. In case of failure on the part of the Government to give effect to it, they would be found in active opposition.

The 10th Session of the Diet opened on 22 Decem-

ber, 1896 and the new party showed their strength in the House of Representatives by electing Mr. Hatoyama Kazuo to succeed Mr. Kusumoto, upon whom the title of Baron had been conferred, as President of the Chamber.

The period during which the *Shimpotō* took sides with the Government proved a time of trouble and disunion for the *Jiyūtō*. In January 1897 a tendency to split up into small factions was manifested. Shigeno Kenjirō and six others left and grouped themselves together under the appellation of the *Teiyū* Club (丁酉). On February 28, the *Shinjiyūtō*, (new *Jiyūtō*) was formed by deserters from the *Jiyūtō*. Many were the defections from the old party about this time and they comprised Kōno Hironaka. Count Itagaki himself resigned his position as President on March 19. Bandō Kangorō and 8 others formed the *Nichiyō Kwai* (日曜會). The *Kokumin Kiōkwai* also experienced losses in January, Messrs Sasaki Shōzō and six others leaving to start the *Kokumin* Club. Then the business men, of whom more and more is being heard in political matters, including Messrs Ban Naosuke, Matsumoto Jūtarō, Kimura Seitarō, Ozaka Zennosuke, and Hara Zenzaburō, originated the *Doshi* Club (同志). To give an idea of the various factions as represented in the Diet early in 1897 the *Jimmin* published the following figures:—

	Members.
Jiyūtō	88
Shimpotō	96
Kokumin Kiōkwai	25
Gi-in Club	21
Dōshi "	21

Shin Jiyūtō	9
Nichiyōkwai	9
Kokumin Club	8
Kakushin "	5
Unattached	7
	299

(which leaves one member unaccounted for).

With the Autumn of 1897, however, the question of increasing the taxation and, in particular, the land tax, became a great point at issue between the Government and the parties. The *Shimpotō* especially took up a resolute stand against taxation, which led in the end to the severance of connection between that party and the Government.

On October 22, 1897 the *Shimpotō* passed the following resolution under four heads, calling for:—

1. The removal of discordant elements from the Cabinet and their replacement by members of identical sympathies, to render that Body strong and united.*
2. Revision of the Budget. Restriction of non-urgent expenditure.
3. Alteration of policy in the Government of Formosa, and reform of administrative abuses there.
4. Reform of non-constitutional acts and perfecting of the working of constitutional Government.

On the 28th the Premier replied in a memorandum to the effect that outside interference would not be permitted

* According to some accounts they also desired that punishment should be meted out to the President of the Board of Audit for his alleged illegal removal of members.

in the appointment or removal of Cabinet Ministers or with regard to the conduct of the administration.

On the 31st of October at a meeting of the Standing Committee, the *Shimpotō* decided, as the result of their negotiations with Count Matsukata, that the Government had no real intention of fulfilling their pledges, judging by their action in the past, and that they would decline to continue to work hand in hand with them. The officials who had obtained their posts as party men, chosen from the ranks of the *Shimpotō*, gave them up in November, and Count Ōkuma resigned the portfolio of Agriculture and Commerce on the 9th of the same month.

Opposition to the Government likewise tended to reunite the offshoots of the *Jiyūtō*, and the * *Kōdō Kwai* was formed by the fusion of the *Shin Jiyūtō*, *Kokumin* Club and *Chūritsu* Club under the leadership of Viscount Takashima.

This feeling of antagonism to the taxation measures of the Cabinet spread, and the representatives of the *Kokumin Kiōkwai* called upon the Premier in November to resign. Both the *Shimpotō* and *Jiyūtō* passed resolutions of want of confidence in December.

Other Associations such as the *Jitsugiō dōshi* Club also showed openly their intention to attack the Government.

Thus the prospect of a quiet 11th Session was remote. The Diet was summoned on December 21, 1897. On the 24th the Government introduced Bills providing for increased taxation and projects of law preparatory to the coming into force of the Revised Treaties.

But the collision came on the 25th when, upon the Lower House changing the order of the Day to admit

* Dissolved on February 20, 1898.

of the introduction of a motion of want of confidence, sentence of dissolution was pronounced as soon as the reading of it had been completed.

In the face of this vigorous attack from the parties acting in combination, the Cabinet felt constrained to place their resignations in the Emperor's hands. They accordingly did so on December 28, 1897.

Then followed a brief time of difficulty in the genesis of a Cabinet. Marquis Itō, who was recognized universally to be the only man who could at the moment properly step into the breach, came forward on January 12, 1898 and accepted the responsibility.

The leaders of the *Shimpotō* and *Jiyūtō* would have been valuable auxiliaries. An attempt was made to induce Count Ōkuma to accept a portfolio, but it was frustrated by the *Shimpotō* who declared against any co-operation between him and Marquis Itō. Similarly it proved impossible to induce Count Itagaki to enter the cabinet and lend the Government the weight of his influence with his party.

With the *Jiyūtō*, however, negotiations still proceeded, though they fell through a few months later when the party openly went into opposition.

Another General Election, the 5th, took place on the 15th March 1898. The returns gave (from *Kenseitō Shō-shi.*),

Jiyūtō and their Sympathizers ...	99	Government Supporters.
Kokumin Kiōkwai Supporters ...	32	
Old *Kōdō Kwai*	4	
Unattached	8	
	143	

Shimpotō and Supporters	105	Opposition.
Seiyūkwai	7	
Old *Kōdō ha*	7	
* *Tōhoku Dōmei* (North Eastern Union	2	
Unattached	9	
	130	
Old *Dōshi Kwai*	4	Independent.
Unattached	23	
	27	

PERIOD 3.

The period of greatest influence of political parties.

We now come to a time when the influence of political parties has been most clearly demonstrated and when they have actually realized their long cherished dream, a party Cabinet.

At a General Meeting of Parliamentary Representatives of the *Jiyūtō* held on April 18, a definite decision to have nothing to do with the Itō Cabinet was announced. The party had been willing to support that Cabinet on the understanding that it was founded upon a basis of party. But the promises made on entering upon office had not been fulfilled and the post bellum programme had not been adhered to. So the way for a rapprochement between the parties under a common flag of hostility to the Government was paved. Party meetings held in May all passed resolutions of opposition, excepting the *Kokumin Kiōkwai*.

The assembling of the 12th Session of the Diet took place on May 14, 1898. Kataoka Kenkechi was again

* Founded by Kōno Hironaka in the latter part of 1897.

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President and Motoda Hajime once more filled the office of Vice-President.

Bills for increased taxation as well as a revised Law of Elections and revised Civil Code were introduced, and it was not long before the parties came to loggerheads with the Government.

Questions proposed independently by the *Shimpōtō* and the *Jiyūtō* with regard to foreign affairs elicited replies which the members deemed crude and apart from the point. On the 30th of May, in consequence, a motion of impeachment was brought in, but rejected by the small majority of six votes.

With a view, if possible, to inducing the Representatives to reconsider their position, and to give them time for more mature deliberation concerning the Increased Land Taxation Bills, the Session was suspended for 3 days from June 7.

On the day of Suspension a meeting was held by supporters of the two large parties not members of the Lower House (at the house of Hiraoka Kōtarō, who exerted himself strongly to bring about Union), at which the project of Union was mooted; and it was decided to take measures in order that common cause might be made against the Government.

This was another step towards the great amalgamation brought about, directly, by antagonism to increased taxation, which came about shortly afterwards.

The majority in the Lower House still proving obdurate in the matter of the Land Tax Bill, a sudden stop was put to the proceedings by the dissolution of the Diet on June 10. This stirred the popular parties to renewed effort. Hitherto it had been customary, when one party

as friendly to the Government, for the other to be ound acting in opposition, but now they came to the onclusion that they could, together, succeed in substitut-ig constitutional, as they termed it, for clan Government.

Rapid was now the current of events towards union.

On the day following the dissolution a second meeting ttended by representatives of the *Jiyūtō* and *Shimpotō* ook place, and a definite arrangement was concluded. Messrs Kuribara of the *Jiyūtō* and Takenouchi of the *Shimpotō* were appointed to draw up a declaration and ules. Counts Itagaki and Ōkuma accepted the invitation ddressed to them to enter the party about to be ormed. On the 21st the *Jiyūtō*, *Shimpotō*, and also the *Dōshi* Club dissolved. The first two made a declaration o the effect that, having taken into careful consideration he condition of affairs, both at home and abroad, they iad, in order to bring about the full completion of Constitutional Government, dissolved and joined with arties having identical aims; and they would unite nto one great party, and work together for the cause they iad at heart. Formal Constitution of the new Party, to vhich the name *Kenseitō*, (憲政黨) of (Constitutional Party), vas given, was effected on June 22, at a meeting at the Shintomiza, Hiraoka delivered an address, he having con-inued earnest in the endeavour to bring about Union, ind a meetlng subsequent to that of the 11th having for hat purpose been held at his house. Kataoka being in he chair, Messrs Ohigashi Gitetsu, Ozaki Yukio, Ma-suda Masahisa, Hayashi Yūzō were nominated a Com-nittee in charge of general business. Messrs Minoura Katsundo, Kuribara Riōitsu, Takenouchi Seishi, Itō Dai-achi, Furihata Mototarō were elected Party Managers.

The declaration published ran, roughly, as follows:—It is about 10 years since the Constitution was promulgated and the Diet opened. As many as five times has the Diet been dissolved and Constitutional Government has not yet become an accomplished fact, nor is the influence of political parties greatly felt. Thus agreement and co-operation between the Government and the people is prevented by the firm establishment of the remaining evils of the Government, and Public Business is delayed to the great regret of all lovers of their country. Having taken into careful consideration the condition of affairs both at home and abroad, the *Jiyūtō* and *Shimpotō* have in order to bring about the full completion of constitutional Government, decided to dissolve and together unite in forming a great party of persons in sympathy with each other.

The principles of the *Kenseitō* were laid down as follows:—

1. Reverence for the Imperial House and maintenance of the Constitution.
2. Party cabinets and fixing of (ministerial) responsibility.
3. Development of local self-Government and restriction of interference from the Central Authority.
4. Protection of national rights and extension of commerce and trade.
5. Finances to be placed on a firm basis and balance of accounts to be preserved.
6. Inter-Communication between national and foreign finances and development of national resources.
7. The army and navy to be proportioned to national needs.

8. Speedy creation and completion of means of transport and communication.
9. Spread of Education and encouragement of technical instruction.

The fixing of ministerial responsibility and party cabinets were the leading points. With such objects alone forming the chief basis of its foundation, and so many members formerly unfriendly to each other, all eager for office, it lacked the elements of lasting cohesion. The Government vanquished and yielding to all demands and office thrown open to political aspirants, then would inevitably come competition for place, becoming ever more bitter, with final disorganization and disruption.

The minds of the elder statesmen were at this juncture exercised as to whether or not it was expedient to have a party upon which the Government could rely. It was the idea in some quarters that the *Kokumin Kiōkwai*, the *Jitsugiōha*, the *Chikashūseiha* and * *Yamashita* Club might form the nucleus of an organization upon which the cabinet could rely in its conflict with the *Kenseitō*. Owing, however, to the wish of some of the elders to keep aloof entirely from party entanglements, the project was abandoned. In the presence of His Majesty the Emperor a Conference was held at the Palace on June 24, Marquises Itō, Saigō, Yamagata, and Ōyama, and Counts Inoue and Kuroda being present. A discussion took place as to the advisability of forming a Government party and as to the application of the constitution to the Lower House, and led it was said to an estrangement between Marquis Itō and Yamagata which lasted

* Formed by the Independent Members of the Diet on May 7, 1898.

for a long time. The former was in favour of a Government Party, but was unable to carry out the project owing to disagreement on the part of his colleagues. He accordingly saw no help for it but to resign and make way for the new party.

The conference was followed on the morrow by a general resignation of the cabinet.

The course was now clear for the construction for the first time of a Cabinet on purely party lines.

Marquis Itō lost no time in communicating with Counts Ōkuma and Itagaki and inviting them to take the place vacated by himself. They consented, and after consultation with the General Commissioners of the *Kenseitō*, the portfolios were distributed as follows on June 30, 1898:—

FIRST PARTY CABINET.

(*Kenseitō.*)

Premier, and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Count Ōkuma, formerly of the.....	*Shimpotō*
Home Minister, Count Itagaki, formerly of the	*Jiyūtō*
Financial Minister, Matsuda Masahisa, formerly of the	*Jiyūtō*
Minister of Communications, Hayashi Yūzō, formerly of the	*Jiyūtō*
Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, Ōishi Masami, formerly of the	*Shimpotō*
Minister of Justice, Ohigashi Gitetsu, formerly of the	"
Minister of Education, Ozaki Yukio, formerly of the	"

Four of the Ministers were members of the House of Representatives. This is the first time that any member of the Lower House has been included in the Cabinet.

A few days previous to the formation of the first Party Cabinet, the progress made politically, and the more sober frame of mind in which politics were considered was marked by the abolition of the *Ho-an Jō-rei*, Peace Preservation Regulations (By Imperial Ordinance of June 24, 1898). This was one of the signs of the growing strength of that policy which had succeeded in the preceding Session in passing the project of law. Party men were also appointed Vice-Ministers of several of the Departments, and many other posts, such as that of Chief Secretary to the Cabinet, Chief of Police, Departmental Councillor, Local Governor, etc. were bestowed upon adherents of the *Kenseitō*. At this time what was ironically termed *riōkwan netsu*, feverish hunting for office, was prevalent.

The transfer of power from the clan statesmen to the representatives of the people was hailed with great rejoicing. It was looked upon as a great step in the political progress of Japan and was even termed a second Restoration.

Not only, however had the first Party Cabinet to contend against the enmity of statesmen experienced for thirty years in the administration, but internal dissensions rent it in twain.

The imperfect cohesion of the *Jiyūtō* and the *Shimpotō* and the difficulty of preserving the balance of power, which led to mutual jealousies, soon occasioned the downfall of the Cabinet. At the General Election of August 10, 1898 the two parties competed with each

other, notwithstanding their alliance. This, the sixth election passed off quietly. The result was as follows:—

Shimpotō	112
Jiyūtō	96
Independent (Supporting the *Kenseitō*)	51
Total Government Supporters	259
Kokumin Kiōkwai	20
Independent	21
Total Government Opponents	41

From the time of the formation of the Cabinet there has been constant friction among the Ministers. Moreover the House of Peers was dead against the idea of a Party Cabinet and had to be reckoned with. The fact that the Ministers of War and Marine were not party men was also a thorn in the side of the majority. The holders of the other portfolios were not long allowed to remain undisturbed in the exercise of their functions. The Vice-Minister of Justice also was made the object of accusation on the ground that he had been concerned in interference in the elections, and was allowed to resign.

But it was the uproar raised by a reference to Japan as a possible Republic, no doubt without the slightest intention of criticising the existing regime, made by Mr. Ozaki Yukio in a public speech on August 30, which was the direct cause of the break-up. The Minister of Education was in the end compelled to resign, which he did on the 24th of October. Mr. Inukai Ki, of the *Shimpotō*, was advanced to the post of Minister of Education. Now came the crisis.

To this step the *Jiyūtō* objected, as they wished to see the portfolio held by one of their own nominees, or, as an alternative, desired the Foreign Office to be given to them. At the Cabinet Council held for the discussion of the appointment on the 26th the impossibility of reconciling the two sides showed that the *Kenseitō* was on the verge of disruption. The appointment of Inukai was announced on October 27. Two days later Itagaki, Hayashi and Matsuda resigned and their example was followed by the Vice-Ministers and other high officials nominated by the old *Jiyūtō*. The *Shimpotō* faction was approached on the subject of dissolving the *Kenseitō*, but rejected the idea. A sudden decision to dissolve, attributed to the agency of Mr. Hoshi Tōru, was arrived at by a meeting attended by *Jiyūtō* Representatives on the 29th, and a new *Kenseitō* was forthwith started. Its principles were declared to be the same as those of the old *Kenseitō*. Messrs Kataoka, Ebara, and Hoshi became General Commissioners, being afterwards joined by Baron Suematsu. The *Shimpotō* branch, taken aback, met on the 30th and again on November 1, when they decided to style themselves *Kensei hontō* (Original Constitutional Party). On November 3, the *Kensei hontō* was formally constituted, Messrs Suzuki Jūen, Hiraoka Kōtarō, Kudō Kōkan, Ōi Kentarō, Kōno Hironaka, being the General Commissioners. Its programme too was identical with that of the old *Kenseitō*.

On the 31st Count Ōkuma resigned.

Thus expired the short lived Party Cabinet.

But during its existence it had instituted a system of reforms in various Departments, differentiating political from business officials, partly with the view of facilitating

the employment in Government Departments of men who had rendered service to their party. In addition, a decrease was effected in the number of officials and the salaries of those of lower rank were raised.

On the 8th of November a new Cabinet under the Premiership of Marquis Yamagata was gazetted. It appeared at the outside to be their wish to have no connection with any political party, but it was early perceived that such an attitude would be incompatible with a peaceful session.

Although the *Kensei hontō* comprised a majority in the Lower House, the attention of the Government was rather turned towards the *Kenseitō*. The Premier had a meeting with Count Itagaki a day or two after entering upon office when negotiations for an understanding were opened. Through the exertions of the latter, aided by Messrs Hoshi and Kataoka, an understanding was entered into with them. So shortly afterwards the *Kenseitō* made a public announcement on November 29, stating that as the Government were in accord with the views held by the party, they might rely upon their support and the two together would labour side by side for the welfare of the nation and the perfecting of Constitutionalism. On November 30, Marquis Yamagata by invitation received the Ministers and the leaders and many of the rank and file of the party at his official residence, and made a declaration of the existence of a state of Government co-operation with the *Kenseitō*. By this action the party showed their recognition of the fact that the time was not yet ripe for a purely party Cabinet and that the Elder Statesmen were still indispensable.

The 13th session of the Diet was called for November 7, 1898. Messrs Kataoka and Motoda were again elected President and Vice-President, respectively.

Kensei hontō, unlike the *Kenseitō*, declined to have any dealings with the Cabinet, but on the contrary determined to take up a line of conduct at variance with that adopted by the Government. Its constitution they considered violated their principles, which called for a party Cabinet, and which they resolutely adhered to. Their attitude however was more than counter-balanced by the support of the *Kenseitō* and the *Kokumin Kiōkwai*. Thus the augury for a quiet Session was from the beginning favourable.

The bill for increasing the land tax was passed in a modified form by arrangement with the *Kenseitō* in spite of the strenuous opposition of the *Kensei hontō*. The *Kokumin Kiōkwai* also continued its support of the Government.

On the 5th of July 1899 it dissolved to come into existence again as the *Teikoku-tō* (帝國黨), Imperialist Party. At the same time it gave a promise of assisting the Government and co-operating with the *Kenseitō*.

In June of the same year, Marquis Itō delivered a series of lectures in the Central Provinces and in Kiūshū on the necessity for re-construction of political parties. Undaunted by their failure at the 13th Session, the *Kensei hontō* persevered in the course of action they had adopted. They held meetings in various parts of the country in order to spread their views; Count Ōkuma taking an active part in the campaign. Approval was, at a meeting held at Kiōto on May 27, given to resolutions calling for adjustment of the administration. reduc-

tion of expenditure, the restoration of the land tax, post and telegraph rates and the soy tax to their former level without recourse to other fresh sources of taxation:—These reforms to be effected at the 14th Session of the Diet. At a gathering at the *Kōtō Nakamurarō* Tōkiō, later in the year, November 17, at which speeches were delivered by Count Ōkuma and Viscounts Tani and Miura, the following programme was sanctioned:—(1) Administrative adjustment in the army and navy, Formosa, and all other directions. Restoration of three taxes above specified to their old rates without recourse to new sources of taxation, (2.) Active conduct of foreign affairs, extension of national interests and prestige, preservation of the territorial integrity of China and Korea, (3.) Reduction of unproductive enterprises in the Budget, encouragement of education, development of national resources, rapid completion of means of communication and transport and of works for preventing floods, (4.) Reform of the abuses of officialdom, and of the evil of interference with elections, (5.) Suitable steps in accord with party principles and decision of Representatives to be taken to deal with matters coming up at the ensuing Session of the Diet.

Thus their continued opposition to the Government was in the main based upon the question of taxation. It is also worthy of note that the preservation of the integrity of China and Korea is made a plank in their platform a matter upon which they have dealt with much insistence ever since.

The *Kenseitō* had in the interval between the 13th and 14th Sessions remained staunch in its allegiance to the Cabinet. On November 15, 1899, Messrs Hoshi,

Matsuda, Suematsu and Hayashi were appointed General Commissioners and they adopted as the policy of the party for the next Session, (1.) The extension of the franchise, (2.) State purchase of private railways and the completion of projected lines, (3.) State defrayment of local prison expenditure, (4.) Abolition of the Law of Political Associations, etc. They also deemed it their duty to obtain the fruit of their support of the Cabinet.

The 14th Session of the Diet, which was formally opened on November 22, 1899, like its predecessor, passed without striking incident. The *Kenseihontō* lost no time in opening fight over the question which they had declared to have at heart. But the Government still retained its hold over the *Kenseitō* which admitted of the administration being conducted and legislation enacted without friction.

The proposals of the opposition for the restoration of the three taxes to their old rate were rejected by the House of Representatives on the 8th of December.

The business of the Session included the passing of the Revived Election Law which became operative for the first time on August 10, 1902. The law was published as Law No. 73 March 28, 1900, and amended slightly by Law No. 38 of April 4, 1903. It is divided into 13 chapters which treat of, (1.) Electoral districts, (2.) Rights of electing and of being eligible for election, (3.) Election lists, (4.) Elections, voting and voting places, (5.) Control of voting places, (6.) Opening of ballot boxes and places for the opening of ballot boxes, (7.) Election meetings, (8.) Elected persons, (9.) Term of membership and elections to fill vacancies, (10.) Lawsuits about elections and the results of elections, (11.) Punitive

regulations, (12.) Supplementaay regulations, (13.) Additional regulations. The number of members is raised from 300 to 381, and there are 73 representatives of City and 308 of Country districts. Voting districts correspond with the limits of Cities, towns and villages. No alteration is to be made in the membership or areas for ten years. No property qualification is now necessary in the case of Candidates, while the annual payment of land tax or other direct national taxes by electors is reduced from 15 to 10 *yen*. Another important change introduced is voting by secret ballot. A relative majority of the total number of ballots secured election under the old Law, but it is now necessary that Candidates should have not less than one fifth of the number obtained by dividing the total number of persons borne in the electoral lists by the fixed number of members for the districts in question. The alterations made in the law are meant to minimize the possibility of corruption, to ensure secrecy and to bring it into line as regard details with recent legislation.

In several places the date of the taking effect of the New Law remains to be specially determined by Imperial Ordinance, so that the number elected in August falls somewhat short of the full number.

The number of persons possessing electoral rights on the 30th of April 1902 was 967,227, of whom 67,979 were city electors, 896,646 in country districts and 2602 in Islands.

But the *Kenseitō* became more and more dissatisfied with the portion that fell to them as their reward for

* *Nichi Nichi Shimbun.*

† On October 4, 1900 the "Club" placed the probable number under the new Election Law at 796.578.

iding the Government. They found that Marquis Yamagata placed his own opinion before theirs and fancied hat his attitude was one of disdain of party interference. Negotiations took place between them and the Government in March and April and as a result new civil ervice regulations were issued 27, April 1900. With hese on which they had been building their hopes of idmittance, to places under the Government, they were ll pleased. They did not think that party participation n office had sufficient weight attached to it. They were unwilling, however, to precipitate a crisis as the wedding of His Imperial Highness, the Crown Prince was to take place on the 10th of May. Accordingly they delayed action until the 17th of that month, when, at a meeting of adherents of the party, it was resolved that it was not desirable to continue the *status quo* with the Government.

On May 20, in consequence of the regulations, providing for cases which should not fall within the purview of the Civil Service Regulations the offices of Chief Secretary to the Cabinet and of Chief of Secretariat in the various Departments were able to be filled from the ranks of party men. Still displeased, the General Commissioners paid a formal visit to Marquis Yamagata, and the conference which took place led to a declaration that the *Kenseitō* would act independently of the Cabinet for the future. They subsequently proceeded to call upon Marquis Itō towards whom their hopes had turned as soon as it became evident that they would break with the Yamagata Cabinet, and invited the Marquis to enter their party as its Head. They were told that the matter would receive careful consideration and on July

8, they at length obtained a promise from Marquis Itō that he would join with the *Kenseitō* in bringing together a party of which he would assume the leadership. Count Inoue took a great part in the work. In a few weeks time the project was ripe, for fulfilment. On August 25, 1900 the projected formation of the *Rikken Seiyūkwai* (Party of Friends of Constitutional Government) (立憲政友會), successor to the *Jiyūtō* and the *Kenseitō* was announced. The principles of the reconstructed party were enunciated in the following terms:—

(1.) The party would dutifully guard the Constitution, and would, conformably to its provisions, perfect the working of the Sovereign Power, and so carry out important national undertakings and maintain the rights and liberties of all the people, (2.) Bearing in mind the comprehensive plans of the Restoration, they would labour in the cause of civilization, by assisting in their execution and so promoting the fortunes of the country, (3.) They were desirous of perfecting the organs of administration and of preserving their impartiality and would aim at making selection (for office) unbiassed, simplification of business the making clear where responsibility lay, a well disciplined officialdom, smart execution of business,—all which things must be made to follow the spirit of the times, (4.) Importance should be attached to foreign affairs and friendship with treaty nations should be strengthened, and they should labour for a civilized administration wh ch would be a security to foreigners and prove Japan to be a law-governed country, (5.) National defences must be brought to a state of perfection to accord with the condition of affairs at home and abroad, and the national rights should be

properly protected so as to keep pace with the development of the national resources, (6.) The national foundation should be firmly laid by the promotion of education, the development of the national character so that they might all perform their duty to the nation, (7.) The financial existence of the country to be placed on a live basis by the encouragement of agriculture, industry navigation, and commerce, and the facilitation of communication, (8.) Local self government to be made the means of uniting the various units, socially and economically, (9.) They would respect their party responsibilities towards the nation, and labour for the public benefit circumspectly and in avoidance of long standing evils.

The Committee of organization of the *Seiyūkwai* consisted of Baron Suematsu, Messrs Hoshi, Matsuda and Hayashi, General Commissioners of the *Kenseitō*, and Marquis Saionji, Viscount Watanabe, Barons Honda and Kaneko, Messrs Haseba Junkō, Watanabe Kōki, Ōoka Ikuzō, Tsuzuki Keiroku.

On August 27. Mr. Ozaki Yukio was expelled from the Progressionist Party because of his expressed desire to dissolve the party and unite with the new association. Subsequently in a circular addressed to the constituencies they blamed him for his action in the matter.

On September 13, 1900 the *Kenseitō* finally met to dissolve and make way for the *Rikken Seiyūkwai*.

The perfection of constitutional Government was declared to be the desired end of the change which had been accomplished.

It is to be noted that the party accepted Marquis Itō on his own conditions and knowing that his views as to Government by party did not coincide with their own.

The inaugural ceremony of the *Seiyūkwai* was performed at the Imperial Hotel Tōkiō, on September 15.

By the Progressists the *Seiyūkwai* was not regarded with favour. Count Ōkuma took an early opportunity of delivering a speech in which, while rejoicing that one of the clan statesmen had showed the progress of the nation by accepting party influence as inevitable, he remarked that he was not disposed to do anything in the way of co-operation or union.

To counterbalance the weight lent to the *Seiyūkwai* by the leaderships of Marquis Itō, the *Kenseihontō* decided towards the end of 1900 to request Count Ōkuma to become the head, formally, of their organization. On the 18th of December the party was re-organized at a general meeting held in Tōkiō, the Count becoming President, and a business committee of five members being appointed.

It is of interest to note the formation and comparatively brief existence of a political association called the *Kokumindōmei-kwai* (國民同盟會), National Union. Organized in September 1900 when the future of China seemed doubtful, it was dissolved on April 27, 1902, the objects of the union namely the preservation of the territorial integrity of China and the restoration of tranquility there, being deemed to have been assured by the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese agreement and the signature of the Treaty between Russia and China regarding Manchuria. Prince Konoe, President of the Upper House, was President of the Association, and Messrs Inukai Ki and Sasa Tomofusa were leading spirits in it. It was supported by the *Tōa dō-bun kwai* (East Asia Common Script Society) and by the Progressives, but was regarded with open hostility by the *Seiyūkwai* and with dis-

pleasure by the Government. It is no uncommon thing in Japan for political associations to be formed for specific purposes and to be dissolved on the fulfilment of these objects, and the *Kokumin dōmei kwai* is but one instance out of many which have occurred during the past twenty years.

The resignation of the Yamagata Cabinet had been delayed by the Boxer troubles in China and the inadvisability of change of government until tranquility had been substantially restored. Consequently it was not until October 19, that Marquis Itō formed his Cabinet, the majority of the members of which belonged to the *Seiyūkwai*.

Of the old *Jiyūtō* leaders, Baron Suematsu held the portfolio of Home affairs. Mr. Matsuda of Education, Mr. Hayashi of Agriculture and Commerce, Mr. Hayashi of Communications. Much regret was felt that Count Inoue was not included, as he was expected to hold a portfolio. This may be called the second Party Cabinet in Japan, and it was looked upon at the time as a transfer of the reins of power from the older statesmen into the hands of younger men. Marquis Itō being the only veteran remaining. But like its predecessor it suffered from lack of homogeneity.

With regard to the *Teikokutō* they were at first inclined to lend their countenance to the new Ministry, but on December 19, they passed a resolution to the effect that its attitude towards the Constitution in the interpretation of the doctrine of responsibility violated their principles.

The weakest feature in the Cabinet was the holding of the portfolio of Finance by Viscount Watanabe. Belong-

ing to Shinshū, originally not a party man and averse to Government by party, the Viscount had consented with reluctance to join the *Seiyūkwai.* He was appointed chairman of the General Committee in the beginning, but was deposed from that post shortly afterwards owing to serious differences of opinion between himself and the other members of the Committee. The latter issued a very violent manifesto attacking him whereupon Marquis Itō removed all the fifteen members of the committe, subsequently re-appointing twelve of them, nominating Mr. Ozaki Yukio in the place of Viscount Watanabe. Thus Viscount Watanabe took office under most unfavourable circumstances, and his appointment was greeted with much opposition. During the ensuing six months his relations with his colleagues of the *Seiyūkwai* grew more and more strained. Frequent expression of desire for his retirement was the subject of newspaper articles. The agitation against him came to a head early in April 1901. He then announced, in his capacity as Finance Minister, that the execution of certain undertakings provided for in the budget which had just been passed and had taken effect from the 1st of that month, would require to be postponed in view of the impossibility of raising the domestic loan contemplated in the same estimates. This announcement was met with a storm of indignation. He was accused of being utterly lacking in sense of responsibility, This alteration of his own proposals in such a radical manner immediately after thei acceptance by the Diet, was held to be a demonstratio of his unfitness to control the national finances. Viscou Watanabe, however resolutely refused to resign unless company with his colleagues. He disclaimed individ

responsibility in the matter, maintaining that the Cabinet had as a body agreed that postponement of some of the national undertakings was inevitable, and that he would stand or fall with the others.

On April 20, five of the Ministers, all prominent members of the *Seiyūkwai*, conveyed to Marquis Itō a warning of their intention to leave office if the services of Viscount Watanabe were retained. It was subsequently thought that a compromise had been arrived at by mutual concession on points of finance and that the matter would be allowed to drop. But disputes again arose within the Cabinet, and outside of it private members of the *Seiyūkwai* showed a disinclination to allow the Finance Minister to continue in office; a committee elected at a meeting of the party sought and obtained an appointment for an interview with Marquis Itō in order to lay their views before him. The interview was fixed for the 2nd of May, but on the morning of that day the Premier suddenly repaired to tha Palace and handed in his resignation, to the surprise of the public generally. Marquis Saionji took the vacated place, temporarily.

The political crisis lasted exactly one month. On Marquis Itō's resignation a conference of the elder statesmen. Marquis Yamagata, Marquis Saigō, Count Matsukata, and Count Inoue was summoned by the Emperor. They concluded that there was no alternative to an Itō Cabinet at the moment and invited the Marquis to re-consider his decision. The newspapers too of all shades of opinion were practically unanimous in the view that no one but Marquis Itō was in a position to form a cabinet which should contain any of the elements of stability, because of his command of a majority in the House of Repre-

sentatives. This demonstrates the light in which the influence of political parties had now come to be regarded. But Marquis Itō proved unyielding. Further conferences of the elder Statesmen and negotiation between them and the late Premier were of no avail. The delay led to much criticism of the older statesmen. It was argued that it was their duty to find a way out of the difficulty but that instead of boldly grasping the situation, each one tried to shift the responsibility on to the shoulders of some one else. The people were tired of their inaction and if they were unable to perform their former functions, they should retire from the political arena, making way for younger and more vigorous men.

As the resolve of Marquis Itō not to come forward again in the meantime turned out to be unalterable, owing partly, it was said, to his unwillingness to face the House of Peers until his relations with Marquis Yamagata regained their old friendly footing, Viscount Katsura was sent for by the Emperor on the 26th May and commanded to do his best to form a Cabinet.

On June 2nd the Katsura Cabinet was gazetted. It was a new departure in that it was not under the leadership, nor did it contain any of the elder statesmen, whose presence had hitherto been considered essential in a Cabinet. On the other hand, no representatives of political parties were included in its composition. In the estimation of those who believe in the future of political parties, it thus marked a transition stage between the relinquishment of power on the part of the statesmen who had controlled the administration of modern Japan, and the final triumph of political parties and the assumption of Governing Authority by their leaders.

The attitude taken up by the *Seiyūkwai* towards the new Cabinet may be characterized as of indifferent neutrality. Marquis Itō had exerted his influence to prevent the party from becoming hostile on trivial grounds, beseeching them publicly not to offer opposition to the incoming Government unless their method of conducting public affairs demanded it.

With regard to the Progressives, they were inclined to stand by the Cabinet and negotiations were entered into with a view to an understanding, But no definite agreement was concluded and the Progressives have continued in a position of benevolent neutrality.

Early in the year there had occurred a secession from the ranks of this party over the question of taxatiou. Count Ōkuma carrying the majority of the party with him supported the proposals of the Government for increased taxation on the score of national necessity. Those of opposite views, practically the Old *Kakushintō* coterie including Messrs Kudō Kōkan, Ōhigashi Gitetsu, Suzuki Jūen, Baron Kusumoto, etc., severed their connection with the party on February 18. They styled themselves the *Sanshi* Club (三四), because they were thirty four in number and the year of secession was the thirty fourth year of Meiji. Since then they have kept apart, holding and advocating their own views, although there has been talk of their return to their old party and their votes are reckoned as available as a rule for the Progressives.

The Imperialists passed a resolution of confidence in the ministry.

It was expected at first that the Katsura Cabinet would be a mere stop gap, but it passed successfully through the sixteenth session of the Diet, and indeed holds at

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at by the Authorities:—†

	Seiyū-kwai...	192	
Progressives	*Kensei-hontō*	88	104
	Sanshi Club	8	
	Niigata Progressives ...	8	
	Imperialists	20	
	Independent	59	
	Total	375	

‡ The Moji election has yet to take place owing to illegality in the voting. The *Jimmin* however, gives

* Prior to the election the Minister for Home Affairs issued instructions to the Local Governors, enjoining non-interference and absolute partiality.

† These are the figures given by the *Nichi Nichi*.

‡ Took place on October 10, 1902, when a candidate in sympathy with the *Seiyū-kwai* was elected.

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present (September 1902), a stronger position than ever owing to its conduct of affairs having on the whole met with the approval of the people. A threatened crisis over the proposals of the Budget was averted by the action of the more moderate section of the *Seiyūkwai* members who showed their intention to leave the party and support the Government if the former persisted in the line it had adopted regarding the estimates. The Government consequently triumphed, but the *Seiyūkwai* took vengeance by expelling some of the recalcitrant members, Messrs Inoue Kakugorō, Shigeno Kenjirō, and Den Kenjirō.

The result of the *General Election which commenced on August 10 was a victory for the *Seiyū-kwai*. There appears to be some doubt about the exact figures, but the *Jimmin* gives the following as the estimate arrived at by the Authorities:—†

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as its own estimate of the *Seiyū-kwai* figures, while the *Asahi* gives 190, crediting the Progressives with 112. from the *Hōchi Shimbun*, an organ of the Progressionists to the following extract is taken.

Footnote:—Article which appeared in the columns of the "Japan Daily Mail" on October 13, 1902:—

The *Seiyū-kwai*, as our readers are aware, occupies a position unique in the history of Japanese political parties. It has a plurality in the House of Representatives—not a mere majority as compared with any other party, but a plurality of the whole House. Hitherto the most powerful political association in the country could only claim to be stronger than any rival, and the consequence was that combinations and consultations were necessary in order to carry any measure whether for or against the Government. Not infrequently the extreme of parliamentary illogicality was witnessed—a small coterie of politicians holding the casting vote and being thus enabled to control the whole situation. But the *Seiyū-kwai* can now muster force superior to the combined strength of all its rivals. If it decides to oppose the Ministry next session, one of two things must ensue—either a change of Cabinet or a dissolution of the Lower House. To Englishmen it will doubtless appear strange that a Ministry should attempt to remain in office without the support of a majority in the Lower House. But parliamentary affairs in Japan are not yet in accord with British models. The present Cabinet assumed office with open disavowal of parliamentary support. It represents the familiar *chōzen shugi*, or independent policy, which is one of the transition stages from a bureaucracy to constitutional institutions. It

takes its mandate from the Throne alone, and does not acknowledge direct responsibility to any political party. If, then, the *Seiyū-kwai* should marshal its forces against the Ministry next session, the Cabinet would be logically following the rule of its existence did it send the members back to their constituencies, a sentence which the members, having just incurred the expense and trouble of a general election, will naturally be most anxious to avoid. Neither is it likely that things will ever be pushed to such a flagrant issue. The *Seiyū-kwai* is under the leadership of Marquis Itō, who, more than any statesman in the country, enjoys the Sovereign's confidence. Marquis Itō's attitude towards the present Cabinet is avowedly directed by the principle of ministerial stability. Strongly opposed to ephemeral tenure of office, he desires to educate among politicians a conviction that the interests of party must always be sacrificed to those of State, at least to the extent of the disturbing the occupants of the seats of power merely because of their occupation. So long as that process of education can be continued without over-straining the cohesion of the *Seiyū-kwai*, Marquis Itō is likely to continue it, and when it becomes difficult to continue, we may be sure that the necessary readjustments will be effected without anything like a crisis.

Progressives, gives the figures as:—

Progressives	118
Seiyū-kwai	188
Imperialists	19
Independent	50

In any case, *the party led by Marquis Itō will command a clear majority in the next House of Representatives. Whether or not it will be a compact body is quite another question. During its brief existence the party has not enjoyed much freedom from internal dissension. From time to time there have been rumours that it would dissolve and a union be effected between a section of its members and the Progressives. Already it is said to be divided over the land tax question which promises to constitute one of the most difficult problems by which the Diet will be confronted in its seventeenth session (1902-03).

Political parties have now become a distinct power in the land and the day may come when they shall reach the final goal of their ambition, namely the control of the administration. From small and insignificant beginnings they have gradually progressed in influence and in organization. As by degrees they have been getting rid of their unruly and dangerous elements and learning to a greater extent the lesson of responsibility, they have more and more gained the popular confidence. Possessing practically the power of the purse,—for in the Diet the House of Representatives has the first say as to the details of the Budget presented by the Government,—they have always to be reckoned with. And with the perfection of their organization, and the growth of their experience they will have to be more and more taken into account in the future. The power which the Lower House can exercise is indeed limited by the Constitution, and failing to obtain its consent to the Budget, the

* See Footnote—(Extract from Article in *Japan Daily Mail* of October 13, 1902).

Government can order dissolution and the estimates for the current financial year are then again adopted. But no statesman can afford to neglect political parties or hope to carry on the affairs of the State for long in face of the opposition of a majority in the House of Representatives. One of the greatest of Japan's Statesmen—Count Ōkuma—has from the early days been closely associated with one of the principal parties, and Marquis Itō recently consented to throw in his lot with the other large party. Party Cabinets have already been attempted, but have so far not proved a success. With a longer trial, however, there is no reason why they should not some day be a recognized feature of the national polity. There are some who sneer at the parties and minimize the importance of the field of work lying before them. These are not the more serious students of modern Japanese history. We have seen in this sketch how the parties have gradually developed and advanced and that the most able of statesmen feel—and the feeling is constantly more and more important—that they are no longer a negligeable quantity, but that they must be considered and consulted and their assistance sought. With the retirement, which cannot now be long delayed, of the elder statesmen from the arena of politics, will come the opportunity for the party men. Within the limits of the Constitution of Japan there is ample room for the exercise of large powers by political parties. Considering the brief period which has elapsed since political parties had their origin in Japan, and making due allowance for the faults incident to youth, one cannot but be struck with the position they have now attained. It is true that charges

of bribery and corruption have from time to time been justly brought against many of their members. It is also true that at a time when they hesitated to grant the expenditure deemed necessary for national requirements, the House of Representatives cheerfully voted an increase in the annual allowances of members from 800 to 2,000 *yen*. But when times of national emergency have come, all parties have united to sink their differences and devoted themselves wholeheartedly to face and overcome the difficulty and danger. And to their credit must be placed the fact that they have assisted in securing a large measure of liberty to the subject and of freedom for the press and political associations.

There have of course been unruly scenes in the Lower House at times, but on the whole, in the conduct of business, it may be said to compare not unfavourably with Representative Bodies in other parts of the world.

With regard to representation, the agricultural interest preponderates, as so many of the members are of the agricultural class, the mercantile world being represented in only a small degree.

That there have been no distinct and well defined party issues may be traced to the fact that feudalism gave place so suddenly to a modern state of society. No doubt there was a period of preparation for the change, but the old was transformed into the new without any very marked transition period. The leaders of thought and those who have taken up the work of national rejuvenation have consequently all been men of progressive tendencies. For it was clear that Japan must advance rapidly, and in the same direction as the West, if she wished to take her place as she has now done, on terms of absolute equality among the Nations.

Thorough reform and reorganization were a vital necessity, and at the same time this truth was so apparent to intelligent minds that in Japan those whose thoughts have preferred to revert for guidance to the past have had few followers during the past thirty years—particularly in the political world. The outcome has been that all the parties, with the exception of very minor and negligeable groups, have been advocates of reform and progress and staunch upholders of the liberty of the subject. With all this, loyalty to the Emperor has never for a moment been lost sight of by any of the parties and their programmes have been filled with laudable desires for the dignity of the Imperial House. Another reason for vagueness of programme appears to be the comparatively subordinate part played by political parties in the Government of the country. Inability until recently, to carry out plans, at times prevents their being made.

That they have frequently opposed the Government in cases where opposition for its own sake has been the only recognizable principle cannot be gainsaid. It must, however, be remembered that they have all along been struggling for a share in the administration, to give effect to their contention that the Government should be not only representative of one class or section of the population but be carried on by the nominees of the people under the Imperial authority. In a recent paper read before the Asiatic Society, Mr. Chamberlain referred to the intensely democratic nature of the Japanese people. In the rise of political parties we have an illustration of this phase of the national character, side by side with marked reverence for the Emperor. The desire for equality and the revolt against the controlling influence of a narrow coterie has all along been exhibited.

Catalogue of recently published Japanese Books.

I sincerely trust that the Catalogue herewith presented to the members of the Asiatic Society may be of material service in the promotion of Japanese studies. One of the most desirable results would be a large increase in the number of valuable papers prepared for the Society's Transactions, the main purpose of this Catalogue being to point members to the sources through which information may be derived. The Catalogue does not pretend to be either complete or scientifically arranged; so long as it serves its purpose I shall be satisfied.

I may add that I shall be at all times happy to act as intermediary either in procuring books or in having rough translations prepared, or in any other way for members who are not in a position to do such things for themselves.

Arthur Lloyd.
Hon. Lib.

56. Tsukiji, Tokyo December 1903.

Religion.

Ichimai Kishōmon Tanshin Shō. 一枚起請文但信鈔. Notes on a Buddhistic book on faith. Author Shamon Ryuchō. Publisher Kōmeisha. Price Yen, 0.12.

Fubo-on-jū Kyō Kōgi. 父母恩重經講義. Lectures on

the Fubo-on-jū Kyō, a Buddhistic book on parents' grace. Author Yamada Kōdō. Publisher Kōyūkwan. Price Yen, 0.12.

Fukwan Zazengi Senyō. 普勧座禪儀詮要. Notes on the Fukwan Zazengi, a Buddhistic book on religious meditation. Author Ōuchi Seiran. Publisher Kōmeisha. Price Yen, 0.10

Murakami Hakase Bukkyō Koron Shū. 村上博士佛教講論集. A collection of Prof. Murakami's lectures and essays on Buddhism. Vol. I. Author Murakami Senshō. Publisher Kōmeisha. Price Yen, 1.50.

Rinri to Shūkyō to no Kwankei. 倫理と宗教との關係. Relation between ethics and religion. Author Inouye Tetsujirō. Publisher Fusambō. Price Yen, 0.40.

Anshin Ritsumei Dan. 安心立命談. A talk on peace of mind and faith. Author Murakami Senshō. Publisher Tetsugaku Shoin. Price Yen, 0.20.

Sanron Gengi Kōwa Roku. 三論玄義講話錄. Lectures on the Sanron Gengi, a Buddhistic book. Author Maeda Eun. Publisher Bunmeidō. Price Yen, 0.30.

Shinshū Shichi-so no Taikō. 眞宗七祖之大綱. Articles of faith of the seven Fathers of the Shinshū, a Buddhistic sect. Author Saitō Yuishin. Publisher Kōyūkwan. Price Yen, 0.25.

Shinshū Yōryō. 眞宗要領. A brief description of the Shinshū, a Buddhistic sect. Author Murakami Senshō. Publisher Tetsugaku Shoin. Price Yen, 0.25.

Sekkyō Hiyu Gōwa Roku. 說教譬喩合話錄. A collection of parables to be adopted for sermons. Author Yasuda Tokunin. Publisher Bunmeidō. Price Yen, 0.45.

Sonken Hakase Rinriteki Shūkyō-ron Hihan Shū. 巽軒博士倫理的宗教論批判集. A criticism on Prof. Ino-

iye's "Ethical Religion." Author Akiyama Goan. Publisher Kinkōdō. Price Yen, 0.80.

Gojin no Shūkyō. 吾人の宗教. Our religion, a layman's view of Buddhism. Author Akatsuki Ubin. Publisher Bummeidō. Price Yen, 0.20.

Sōdōshū Shūshōji Sokkyō Daizen. 曹洞宗修證義說教大全. A collection of sermons of the Sōtōshū, a Buddhistic sect. Author Sōtōshū Shūmukyōku. Publisher Kōyūkwan. Price Yen, 0.70.

Seishin Kōwa. 精神講話. Lectures on spiritual culture. Author Kiyozawa Manshi. Publisher Bummeidō. Price Yen, 0.30.

Roppō-rai-kyō Kōwa. 六方禮經講話. Lectures on the Roppō-rai-kyō, a Buddhistic book. Author Ōuchi Seiran. Publisher Kōmeisha. Price Yen, 0.15.

Gakudō-yōjin-shū Kōgi. 學道用心集講義. Lectures on the Gakudō-yōjin-shū, a Buddhistic book on the way of Buddha. Author Yamada Kōdō. Publisher Kōyūkwan. Price Yen, 0.30.

Murakami Hakase Kōen-shū. 村上博士講演集. A collection of Prof. Murakami's lectures and speeches. Author Murakami Senshō. Publisher Bummeidō. Price Yen, 0.25.

Gusha-ron Tasshi. 俱舍論達志. Lectures on the Gusha-ron (a Buddhist book.) Author Murakami Senshō. Publisher Tetsugakushōin. Price Yen, 0.25.

Gunjin to Shūkyō, 軍人と宗教. Soldiers and Religion. Author Takemoto Kiyozō. Publisher Kyōbunkwan. Price Yen, 0.02.

Morumonkyō to Morumonkyōto. 麽兒門教と麽兒門教徒. On Mormonism and Mormons. Author Takahashi Gorō. Publisher Jūjiya. Price Yen, 0.75.

Bukkyō Rinri no Jissen. 佛教倫理の實踐. Practice in Buddhistic morals. Author Hanada Ryōun. Publisher Bummeidō. Price Yen, 0.25.

Bukkyō Kaikaku Dan. 佛教改革談. View on Buddhistic reformation. Author Katō Hiroyuki. Publisher Kinkōdō. Price Yen, 0.12.

Fukwan-zazen Kōgi. 普觀座禪講義. Lectures on the Fukwan-zazen, a Buddhistic book. Author Ōuchi Seiran. Publisher Kōmeisha. Price Yen, 0.15.

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Zengaku Kwatsumondō. 禪學活問答. Catechism on the science of Zen. Author Kōmeisha. Publisher Kōmeisha. Price Yen, 0.25.

Logic.

Ronrigaku Kōyō. 論理學綱要. A book on logic. Authors Kuwaki Ganyoku and Sekiyama Tomi. Publisher Hakubunkwan. Price Yen, 0.40.

Philosophy.

Nippon Kogaku-ha Tetsugaku. 日本古學派哲學. Philosophy of the Kogaku School in Japan, a school of Confucianism which held the oldest way of interpreting Confucius' teaching. Author Inouye Tetsujirō. Publisher Fusambō. Price Yen, 1.60.

Nippon Tetsugaku Yōron. 日本哲學要論. A brief account of Japanese philosophy. Author Arima Sukemasa. Publisher Kōyūkwan. Price Yen, 0.90.

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INTRODUCTION.

Arai Hakuseki is representative of the best of old Japan. He was scholar, poet, historian, economist, moralist and statesman. He wrote many books, and left many unpublished MSS. at his death, among others one called "Hyō-chū-ori-taku-shiba-no-ki. This was written strictly for his own family and was left unpublished until a few years since, when it was printed for the first time.

It is an account of his life, and gives a fairly complete account of his family, youth, education, early struggles, together with his later successes and his labors in the court of the Shōgun. It tells its own story with sufficient clearness, needing little supplement or introduction, and it has its value as giving us perhaps the most vivid picture of old Japan obtainable, a picture of the real Japan and not the fancied land of travellers and poets and foreigners. It would be difficult, possibly, to match it as a bit of history, not necessarily that all its statements are correct, but as giving us an insight into the centre of Japanese life and power.

Arai as he tells us, was from an unfortunate family and only after much labor and some adventures did he surmount his early difficulties. He finally became the official scholar to the Shōgun himself and made his position one of unrivalled influence. He was the court preacher, if we may so use the term, (though of course there was no hint of the priest in his position or character), or the philosopher at court, and he used his position so that without legal

authority he yet became the confidential adviser of the Shōgun and through him ruled the empire.

Three ideas appear to have governed him, (1) The reformation of abuses. 2. The reformation of the rites and ceremonies of the Shōgun's court and, (3) The exaltation of the Shōgun's power. A few remarks may help to an understanding of these three departments of his activity as the story is filled with these endeavors.

The Shōgun Ieyasu had eleven children. The first died young. The second was adopted by Hideyoshi, and is said to have been ruined and miserably destroyed after Hideyoshi's death. The third was the heir and successor, Hidetada. The eighth, tenth and eleventh sons of Ieyasu were made *daimyō* of Owari, Kii and Mito respectively with the provision that should the direct line fail a Shōgun should be chosen from one of these houses. Hidetada was succeeded in 1623 by his son Iemitsu, and he by his son Ietsuna in 1651. He left no son and was succeeded in 1680 by his brother, Tsunayoshi. He died in 1709 without a son to succeed him and was followed by his nephew, Lord Kofu, Ienori, the son of the second son of Iemitsu Tsunashige. This sixth Shōgun died in 1712 leaving a sickly infant as heir, Ietsugu, who died in June 1715. With him the line of Hidetada became extinct and the next Shōgun was from the house of Kii descended from the tenth son of Ieyasu. It was during the brief reigns of the sixth and the seventh Shogun that Arai Hakuseki was in public life.

The fifth Shogun was at once a strict and superstitious Buddhist a and a great patron of the Chinese philosophy. He lectured on the *Dai Gaku* to *daimyō* and priests, and greatly stimulated learning throughout the Empire. But in his later years at any rate he was far from following the

precepts of the moralists, and it was his misconduct which made necessary the reforms instituted by his successor. Tsunaycshi seized maidens who struck his fancy and then put them in strict ward during life. He had moreover ten boys at the castle and twenty more in a separate *yashiki.* Among them were three *daimyō* and three relatives of the Emperor. They were kept under the strictest rule, and permitted no communication with their families. (See Tokugawa Ju-go Daishi vol. 6 pp. 245 f.)

With personal profligacy naturally was combined administrative looseness. The finances became involved as expenditures greatly exceeded receipts, and as official waste and corruptiou were everywhere. The coinage was repeatedly debased, *daimyō* were moved from fief to fief for the sake of extortion, and the taxes were greatly increased.

The climax was reached when a merciless law was enacted in the name of religion. The Shōgun was the persecutor of Christians but also in the name of Buddha he became the merciless protector of animals. For example, the official in charge of the Shōgun's kitchen was banished to an island because a cat fell in the well, and this not because the well was defiled but because the cat died. A guard threw a stone at a pigeon on a roof, and in consequence he and the officers of his company were imprisoned at home. A *samurai* disregarded the eighth day, and killed a *tsubame.* He was put to death and a comrade was banished. A *samurai hatamoto* about the same time had his allowance reduced one half because he killed a wholly unarmed merchant, (Ju-go Dai Shi vol. vi pp. 12 ff.), thus showing the values respectively of a bird and a man.

A tax was levied for the benefit of dogs of three *bu* on each house. Genroku ninth year was a "dog" year, and

the Shōgun had been born in a " dog " year, and so a priest of the Goji-in (Koishikawa) instigated a law which was well in accord with the feelings of the Shōgun. Outside of Kandabashi a fine temple was built, promising long life if pity were had for dogs, and commanding that other animals be cared for. But the dog law was especially troublesome. If one were found wounded it was to be tenderly cared for until officials were called and came to attend to it. When dogs were born, the same officials were to be summoned that they might right write down the number of pups and the color of the hair of each. A vacant *nagaya* was fitted with new mats, *futon* and blankets, and doctors were provided. These doctors were to receive the honors given the Shōgun's own physician. They went abroad with six attendants to feel a dog's pulse and administer physic. Much expense was incurred, as the streets had to be cleaned for the passage of these officials. If one wounded a dog he was arrested at once, tied, and put in prison. Hundreds were put in prison for killing dogs accidentally, and many were beheaded that their heads filled thirty *taru*, casks. Here is a specimen of the notices posted in the streets :—

" Oboe ! Honjo Aioicho Sanchome, Iichibei, apprentice of the carpenter Zenjiro, murderer of a dog, by cutting it !

The young daughter, Shimo, of the plasterer Kabeye, of Honjo, Aioicho Nichome, has informed concerning the above and as the facts were as stated she is given fifty gold *ryō* äs reward."

Ichibei was put to death. (l. c. pp. 124 ff.)

The Japanese historian sums up the situation thus. " That such a deteriorated government did not find anyone to lead a rebellion when men's minds were full of it, was owing to the transmitted virtue of the ancestors of the Tokugawa family."

In part we should say because the fifth Shōgun died and was succeeded by the sixth who under the tuition of Arai Hakuseki began a reformation without delay. This condition of the government must be remembered if we are to appreciate the labors Arai undertook.

The Shōgun had a council of state composed of elders, but the fifth Shōgun was really governed by a confidential servant named Kippu. This man was of the worst reputation and stood between the Shōgun and all others. His official position was adjutant. He was followed in the following reigns by another adjutant named Zembō. He had been the playmate of Lord Kofu and understood him perfectly. After Lord Kofu became Shōgun, Zembō was consulted as to everything. He stood between the Council and the Shōgun. The Councillors were weak men and deficient in intelligence and Zembō, so Arai Hakuseki says, had trouble in making clear the simplest matters to them. The Council met every day but only received the Shōgun's orders and knew nothing of the affairs of state. They feared the Shōgun's wisdom, and Zembō privately met with them, coached them, and prepared them for interviews. Zembō was so constant in attendance that he went home only three or five times a year, and after the infant became Shōgun he did not go home at all. Arai further says of Zembō that he had "had no time for study but was of very fine natural parts. He satisfied everyone and made no errors. He was much criticised without reason as carrying on the government himself. But that was even said of me, though I had no power at all, and could only state my views."

But though Arai had no power at all and could only state his views, still that was enough. As we may judge from Arai's own words above, Zembō was his friend, and none

could be Arai's friend who did not agree with him. He had the intensity of a Puritan. He was a Confucianist of the orthodox school of Chuhi, though he tells us that he was first interested in philosophy by the Okina Mondō, a book written by a Japanese follower of the idealist Wang Show-jen, and strenuously sought to carry out the Confucian theory in private and public life. He not only studied the ancient classics reverently but he adopted them as his rule of life, and made them the final authority in matters of law and politics. To him, the reformation of the abuses found in the government was a sacred trust, and life itself he counted not dear compared with the accomplishment of this task. Nor did he spare the Shōgun himself, but unhesitatingly rebuked him when his conduct failed to conform to precept. We can understand Arai's conduct only as we think of him not as the politician, or merely as the states-man, but as the moralist whose theories of law and government were rendered sacred by the solemn sanctions of religion.

The same interest led him to seek a reconstruction of the rites and ceremonies. It is almost unthinkable, to us, how great a place the strict performance of the various rites had in the mind of the followers of the Chinese sage. But to Arai the correct performance of these many and onerous functions, was directly connected with the welfare of the state itself, so that a question of precedence, the style of one's robes, the fashion of a box used, the precise determination of some ancient custom, was worthy the earnest consideration of a statesman and a scholar. Dead as are these questions to us, still in one instance at least Arai argues his case so as to make the human interest involved apparent. *

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*pp. 68 ff. below. 103 ff.

The questions of ceremony when foreign nations were concerned assumed a portentous aspect. The debates with the Korean embassy and the long struggle on point after point of etiquette were really the outward sign of Arai's purpose that the Shōgun should be treated as the full equal of the Korean king, and that his subordination to the Emperor should in no wise be recognised. Arai would not admit by so much as the failure to erase a stroke of a pen that his lord was less in position than the king of Korea. *

This contention it is, perhaps, that has given rise to the notion that Arai sought to make the Shōgun supreme and that he contemplated the dethroning of the Emperor. Whether there is independent evidence of this I do not know, but to an obtuse foreigner the autobiography appears to give its weight against such belief. It is true that Arai did not believe in the Shinto legends, which he rationalized to suit his own fancy, and it is not likely that he had any superstitious reverence for the nominal ruler in Kyōto. Moreover as a Confucianist he held doubtless that an unworthy Son of Heaven might be dethroned, and that he only is true king who proves his right to rule.

Arai has been severely criticised, not always it would seem with justice. Thus a writer in the Shikai (Meiji 26th year 4th month,) says of him, "He was by nature too severe. He was too set in his purpose and determined to carry out his plans even when shown to be wrong. He was narrow minded and very suspicious of others. He really reviled Hayashi who was his elder. He was a man who

* It is to be noted that the title Tai Kun, thought too pretentious for the Shōgun by our foreign historians of Japan, was rejected by Arai as beneath the Shōgun's dignity.

might have fomented rebellion through ambition, had not his desires been met through his employment by the Shōgun. As a historian, judged by modern methods, he made statements without sufficient proof. His economics were too much influenced by his desire to uphold gold. His books on philosophy are like mere tables and he cannot be taken as a model of virtue."

Judged by this book, that is far too severe a judgment. We should not claim him perhaps as a model of virtue, but, by this account of his purposes and deeds we may we think, give him a high place among the worthies of old Japan. And if we are to judge him by Occidental standards even in his own century, it would be far easier to find statesmen and philosophers in European courts who were his inferiors, than to find those who surpassed him in righteousness and fidelity to principle.

Nor does he appear narrow minded or bigoted. His interview with Père Sidotti and his recommendations to the Shōgun in behalf of the imprisoned missionary show at least an unusual ability to take broad and fair minded views of men and things. *

His editor, the historian Naito Chiso, quotes with approval Arai's own words on his retirement from office as giving evidence of the man's true spirit, and to us too these final words seem the expression of sincerity, and to bear the marks of truth. "As you know, by my own exertions I rose from an obscure position to a place quite beyond my expectations. Such advance is not common. With all modesty I may say that, chosen by the Shōgun to be his teacher, it has been my duty to study all the affairs of the

* See The Chrysanthemum Vol. ii pp. 390 ff. and Trans. As. Soc. IX pt. ii.

empire. For more than ten years I have scarcely known what I have eaten, and I have been ill with anxiety night and day, nor have I been my own master. With the accession of the young Shōgun I was troubled still more, and purposed renewed diligence until death. But it was not to be; and all has ended like a dream. So men think I was content, but am disconsolate! Not so! It is like taking off the burden from a feeble horse as he stands laden for a long journey. The favors of the present Shōgun are double those of the former. Salary and rank are continued and I grow old in peace. But let none think me ungrateful to the former Shōgun! But what is so painful as the attempt to do what is beyond one's powers? For the last few years I have taken no medicine, enjoy my food, and grow old in peace, content to leave the time of death to fate. That mind and body for one day may be at rest is the highest aim. No pleasure excels that."

Arai was succeeded in office by his friend Kyusō Muro. *

N. B.—This translation has been prepared for the society under many difficulties, and at a distance from the helps essential to the satisfactory performance of such a task. This disadvantage however has been more than overcome by the kindness of J. H. Gubbins Esq., who has laid me under great obligations by consenting to read my Ms. critically in advance.

G. W. K.

Union Theological Seminary,
700 Park Avenue,
New York City, U. S. A.

* Trans. As. Soc. Vol. XX p. 25.

FOREWORD.

When men of old had something to say they gave the gist of it without unnecessary words. So spoke my parents.

When father was seventy five years old he was at death's door with fever, but no one dared give him the medicine the doctor prescribed because father had often said:—"Young folks may use all means for recovery when ill, but it is wrong for aged men not to know their end, and to die with labored breath because of drugs. "However, as his suffering was frightful, someone put the ginseng in his ginger soup and his breath came strong again and he recovered. *

Afterwards mother asked him, "Why did you turn away your face and keep silent?" And he replied "The pain was great, but I had never shown signs of suffering and now were folks to see my agony in my face they would think me changed; and as fever causes men to say things they do not mean I kept silent."

From this one may know his usual manner. We scarcely might ask about necessary things, and when he died I had many questions still unanswered. In ordinary

* He was an officer of *ashigaru*, and later an *ometsuke*, and was a strong and skillful man. Once when he had a carbuncle he said he felt no pain and so the doctor thought treatment useless but his wife said "He never admits feeling pain, but when no one is looking he turns to the wall and his face contracts. Then the doctor said, "I can treat him".

matters that is well, but silence as to one's family causes grief. Were I to die my son would have such grief, and so, having leisure, I write as things occur to me for him and not for the public, setting down everything in a bad style full of repetitons.

I write with reverence of the late Shōgun. * His affairs would be forgotten sadly should I not write, for none else knows the facts. And so that my son and grandson may not fail in loyalty and filial piety I make this record of the late Shōgun's extraordinary kindness and of our family's laborious rise in rank.

I took up my pen this 17th November, 1716.
Minamoto Kimiyoshi † Retired sixty years old.

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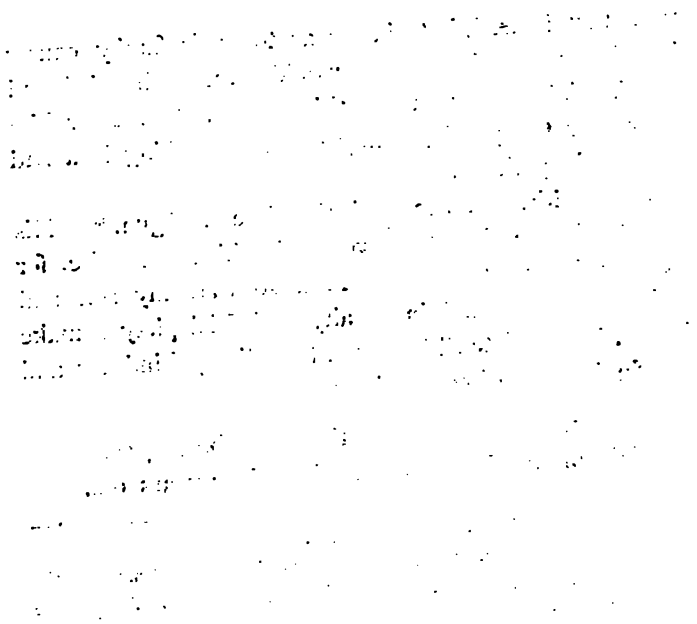
* BUNSHOIN the 6th Shōgun, Ienobukō.

† Arai is the surname, Hakuseki the *nom-de-guerre*, Minamoto the aristocratic family name, and Kimiyoshi the "true" name. Arai's title was *Chikugo-no-Kami.*



MINUTES OF MEETINGS.

5. March. 1902.

"THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ARAI HAKUSEKI."

By kind invitation of H.E. Colonel Buck, a general meeting of the Asiatic Society was held at the United States Legation on Wednesday, March, 5, at 4 p.m., when the reading of the Autobiography of Arai Hakuseki, translated by the Rev. G. W. Knox, D.D. was continued by the Rev. D. C. Greene, D.D. The Rev. Arthur Lloyd, Vice President of the Society, was in the Chair. The chairman opened the meeting by thanking Colonel Buck for his kindness in inviting the Society to hold a meeting in his Legation. U.S. Ministers throughout the world were, he said, celebrated for their courtesy and the friendly interest they took in literary and scientific institutions.

Dr. Greene, after a brief reference to the early history of Arai Hakuseki and his relations to the sixth and seventh Shoguns, proceeded to read extracts from the Autobiography, confining himself to such passages as dealt with the public life of Arai.

The first Chapter read contained an account of his promotion to be one of the intimate personal counsellors of the Heir Apparent (Dec. 20th, 1704), who had previously been a pupil of Arai Hakuseki. The Heir Apparent had but recently been adopted by the fifth Shōgun. He became Shōgun on February 20th, 1709.

The fifth Shōgun during his later years was an ardent Buddhist and was especially active in legislation for the

protection of the lower animals. These protective measures were carried so far as to cause much hardship among the people. At the same time the Shōgun's extravagance had led to the debasing of the currency and to other hardly less questionable means of replenishing the treasury. All this resulted in widespread distress. About this time there were severe earthquakes and certain strange phenomena, among which the falling of white hair is mentioned. These were assumed to portend the gravest evils, the result of the misgovernment of the state. To avoid the impending calamities, it was of the first importance to repeal the obnoxious laws and enter upon the needed reforms. Here the new Shōgun was met by precedents, amounting to a constitutional provision, that laws left on the statute books by a deceased Shōgun should not be changed within three years of his death. Accordingly it was ruled that officially the Shōgun did not die until the funeral. Hence it was possible by postponing that ceremony to gain ample time for the more urgent matters of reform. These were, therefore, arranged for and the necessary laws promulgated in the name of the late ruler.

Arai sought to reform the currency and the system of administration which he represents as being sadly corrupt and otherwise wasteful. While these reforms were not all immediately carried into effect, they seem to have gained the sympathy of the new Shōgun and the measures he recommended were for the most part eventually adopted.

Other chapters treated of efforts made to create establishments for the Princes of the Imperial Blood; to reform the administration of justice, including the wholesale release of persons thrown into prison on account of the

harsh laws of the previous Shōguns; to relieve the people who suffered equally from the oppression of local officials and the heavy exactions by travelling daimyō on the great post roads; to improve the system of collecting taxes, etc.

There were many passages illustrating most vividly the hardships resulting from the defective conception of justice embodied in the laws and customs of the time. In one case, a woman whose husband had disappeared found a dead body floating in a stream. Not being able to turn it over so that she might see the face, she applied to the headman of the village for help. It was found to be the body of her husband. As it was evident that there had been foul play, suspicion fell upon the woman's father and brother, who proved to have been the murderers and were proceeded against accordingly. Not content with this, the officials accused the woman and found her guilty of informing against her father and brother, thought her information consisted simply in her discovery of the body which directed suspicion to her father. She was condemned to servitude and the Minister of Education approved the sentence. Arai, while a great reverer of precedents when they sustained the decisions of his healthy common sense, made short work of this misjudgment. Possibly his own clear view of right was made still clearer by his desire to differ with the Minister of Education for whom he lost no opportunity to show his contempt.

In the case of certain agrarian disturbances, which he recorded, the same keen sense of justice led him also to hold the scales with what seems to have been an even hand.

One of the Chapters gives an amusing report of the

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LENDARS.

April 16, 1902.

Asiatic Society was held at
iji, at 4 p.m. on Wednesday,
c, President of the Society,
E. W. Clement read a paper
" of which the following is

time. This is true in more
first place, they are not in a
leisurely. It may be an exag-
y reverse the Occidental advice,
t can be put off till to-morrow;
plenty of time for doing things.
ng proverbs relating to this sub-
o around" (*Isogaba maware*); and
atter" (*Seite wa koto wo shisonzuru*),
a good equivalent of our proverb,
." With an old-fashioned Japanese,
9 o'clock may be met at any con-
10 o'clock, because it is troublesome
minutes, and it is, therefore, considered
in round numbers, until it is 10 o'clock.
a train, he only ejaculates "*shikata ga*
ere is not," or "there's no use"), and pa-
r the next train, even thought it be half

evident that in old Japan there was no use
verb, "Time is money," and especially because
ng was despised, and the merchant was the
the four classes of society (soldier, farmer,

artisan, merchant). And, if it is true that "procrastination is the thief of time," he must have filched cycles or centuries out of Old Japan. But Mr. E. H. House has suggested that the old practice of the Japanese indicated that they regarded punctuality to be the thief of time.

This propensity to neglect the minutes in reckoning probably grew out of the fact that in Old Japan the shortest period of time was equivalant to two hours. The day was divided as follows:—

Kokonotsu-doki (ninth hour), 12 a.m. and p.m.
Yatsu-doki (eighth hour), 2 a.m. and p.m.
Nanatsu-doki (seventh hour), 4 a.m. and p.m.
Mutsu-doki (sixth hour), 6 a.m. and p.m.
Itsutsu-doki (fifth hour), 8 a.m. and p.m.
Yotsu-doki (fourth hour), 10 a.m. and p.m.

As an hour of that kind is equal to two hours of our kind and clocks had only one hand, the two-"hour hand," it is not strange, perhaps, that it is now difficult for some to reckon minutely!

In the second place, the Japanese have plenty of time, because they have several different ways of reckoning the days, months, years and other periods. They have both solar and lunar time; Japanese, Chinese and Occidental time; two national calendars and several special periods: so that they have literally "a time for everything"; and in some cases, they are very particular to do a certain thing "on time." Of the two Japanese calendars, one reckons from the mythological founding of the Japanese Empire by Jimmu Tennō in 660 B.C., and is known as *kigen* (period-beginning); and the other is the special period called "Meiji" (Enlightened Rule), which began with the accession of the present Emperor Mutsuhito, in

1867. Thus, to illustrate, I happen to have before me an old issue of the *Kokumin Shinbun*, a daily newspaper of Tōkyō, and find the following dates: "Meiji, 35th year; Kigen, 2,562; Occidental calendar, 1902; Chinese calendar, Kocho Era, 27th year, 2nd month, 7th day, Friday. Old Calendar, Ka-no-to—Ushi,* 12th month, 26th day, Ka-no-to—Tori † Sun rises, 6:39 a.m. Sun sets, 5:12 p.m. Moon rises, 5:17 a.m. Moon sets, 4.04 p.m. High tide, 4:33 a.m. and 4:56 p.m." And then, as if to emphasize the contrasts between the old and new in this mixture, is added the notice of the following time-saving device: "Telephone, Shimbashi (Special), No. 70 (Editorial); Shimbashi, No. 2.850 (Office)."

In the old style of reckoning, each year was named according to the twelve signs of the Chinese zodiac in conjunction with the "ten celestial stems" (*jikkan*), obtained by dividing into two parts each of the five elements (wood, fire, earth, metal, water). These elements are known in Japanese as *ki*, *hi*, *tsuchi*, *kane*, *mizu*; and the subdivisions are called *e* (or *ye*) and *to*, of which the former is said to represent "elder brother" and the latter "younger bro.her." But Rein explains *ye* as representing the national state or raw condition, while *to* represents manufactured state or artificial condition. This will be made clear by reference to the following tables:—

1. *Ne* (Rat).	2. *Ushi* (Ox).
3. *Tora* (Tiger).	4. *U* (Hare).
5. *Tatsu* (Dragon).	6. *Mi* (Serpent).
7. *Uma* (Horse).	8. *Hitsuji* (Goat).
9. *Saru* (Monkey).	10. *Tori* (Cock).

* See later tables.

† From *Mutsumu*, to be friendly.

11. *Inu* (Dog). 12. *I* (Boar).

1. *Ki-no-E* (Natural wood).
2. *Ki-no-To* (Wrought wood).
3. *Hi-no-E* (Natural fire).
4. *Hi-no-To* (Artificial fire).
5. *Tuchi-no-E* (Natural earth).
6. *Tsuchi-no-To* (Wrought earth).
7. *Ka-no-E* (Raw metal).
8. *Ka-no-To* (Wrought metal).
9. *Mizu-no-E* (Running water).
10. *Mizu-no-To* (Stagnant water).

Thus *Ka-no-To—Ushi*, the year, name just mentioned above, means "Wrought metal Ox"; and the name of the day mentioned in the same connection, or *Ka-no-To —Tori*, means "Wrought metal, Cock."

The lunar year was divided into twelve months of alternately 29 and 30 days each, and thus contained only 354 or 355 days; but this discrepancy from the solar was made up by adding "to the 2nd, 5th, 8th, 11th, 13th, 16th and 19th year of every lunar cycle an intercalary month of varying length. This bore in Japan the name of *uro-tsuki* (*urū-zuki*) and followed the second month of the year, which was then reckoned twice over as *uro-nigatsu*, *i.e.*, "supernumerary second month." The months were named numerically, as follows:—

Ichigatsu—First Moon.
Nigatsu—Second Moon.
Sangatsu—Third Moon.
Shigatsu—Fourth Moon.
Gogatsu—Fifth Moon.
Rokugatsu—Sixth Moon.
Shichigatsu—Seventh Moon.

Hachigatsu—Eighth Moon.
Kugatsu—Ninth Moon.
Jūgatsu—Tenth Moon.
Jūichigatsu—Eleventh Moon
Jūnigatsu—Twelfth Moon.

The first month, however, had another very common name, Shōgatsu (True Moon). All of the months had also poetical appellations, of which the following are examples:—

1. Mutsuki (Social month).
2. Kisaragi (Putting on new clothes).
3. Yayoi (Large growth).
4. Uzuki (Hare month).
5. Satsuki (Early moon).
6. Minazuki (Water-less month)*
7. Fumizuki (Composition month).
8. Hatsuki (Leafy month). †
9. Nagatsuki (Long moon). ‡
10. Kaminazuki (God-less month).
11. Shimotsuki (Frost month).
12. Shiwasu (Finishing month).

The gods were supposed during the tenth month to have left the other parts of the country and to have assembled in "annual conference" in their "ancestral home" of Izumo. And, as the gods had thus neglected their usual business of watching over the people, it was not considered of any use to offer prayers and sacrifices, and, therefore, that month was given the special name of *Kami-na-zuki*, or *Kami-naki-tsuki*, "god-less moon."

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* Scarcity of rain at this time.

† Or *Tsukimi-zuki* (Moon viewing month).

‡ Or *Kiku-zuki* (Chrysanthemum month).

The four seasons of spring, summer, autumn and winter were recognized; and there were also 24 periods of 14 or 15 days each, which, to a great extent, indicated the weather, such as *Shokan* (Little Cold), *Daishō* (Great Heat), etc., and which the farmer carefully followed in planning his labours. The peasantry also observed rather scrupulously other special times. "For instance, they sow their rice on the eighty-eighth day from the beginning of spring, and they plant it out in *Nyubai*, the period fixed for the early summer. The 210th and 220th days from the beginning of spring, and what it called *Hassaku*, that is, the first day of the eighth moon (o.c.), are looked on as days of special importance to the crops, which are certain to be injured if there is a storm, because the rice is then in flower. They fall early in September, just in the middle of the typhoon season." *

In old Japan the week was entirely unknown; and it was not until the present era [*Meiji*], that the *ichiroku*, or holidays on the "ones" and "sixes" † of each month, were introduced. But that was speedily abandoned for the week system, Sunday an official holiday, with names adapted from the Occidental names, as follows:—

Nichiyobi (Sun-day).
Getsuyobi (Moon-day).
Kayobi (Mars-day).
Suiyobi (Mercury-day).
Mokuyobi (Jupiter-day).
Kinyobi (Venus-day).
Doyobi (Saturn-day).

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* Chamberlain's "Things Japanese."

† On the 1st, 6th, 11th, 16th, 21st, 26th, [31st].

And Prof. Chamberlain tells of the adoption of even the Saturday half-holiday:—"Sunday being in vulgar parlance *Dontaku*, [a corruption of the Dutch *Zontag*], Saturday is called (in equally vulgar parlance) *Handon*, that is, 'half Sunday.'"

The days of each month were named, not only in numerical order, but also according to the sexagenary tables mentioned above in connexion with the names of the years in "a cycle of Cathay." And the latter names were perhaps more important than the numerical ones, because according to these special names a day was judged to be either lucky or unlucky for particular events. For instance, Dr. Griffis informs us in "The Mikado's Empire," that "many people of the lower classes would not wash their head or hair on "the day of the horse," lest their hair become red." On the other hand, this "day of the horse" is sacred to Inari Sama. It is, moreover, very important, when planning for weddings, to avoid certain fixed days and to select one from the auspicious days.

The hours were also named according to the zodiacal menagerie, in the following way:—

1. Hour of the Rat, 11. p.m.—1 a.m.
2. „ „ „ Ox, 1-3 a.m.
3. „ „ „ Tiger, 3-5 a.m.
4. „ „ „ Hare, 5-7 a.m.
5. „ „ „ Dragon, 7-9 a.m.
6. „ „ „ Serpent, 9-11 a.m.
7. „ „ „ Horse, 11 a.m.—1 p.m.
8. „ „ „ Goat, 1-3 p.m.
9. „ „ „ Monkey, 3-5 p.m.
10. „ „ „ Cock, 3-7 p.m.
11. „ „ „ Dog, 7-9 p.m.
12. „ „ „ Boar, 9-11 p.m.

The hour of the ox, by-the-way, being the time of second sleep, was sacred to women crossed in love, for taking vengeance upon a straw image of the recreant lover at the shrine of Fudō.

The *go-sekku*, or five festivals, were also carefully observed. They fell on the first (or, as some say, seventh) day of the first month, the third day of the third month, the fifth day of the fifth month, the seventh day of the seventh month, and ninth day of the ninth month. They have various names, of which the most general are those which call them by the names of the months, such as *Shōgatsu no Sekku* ("First Moon's Festival"), etc. But these names are not so commonly used as those which more particularly describe the nature of the festival. For instance, the festival of the third month is well known as *Jōmi-no-Sekku* (Girls' Festivals), or *Hina-matsuri* (Dolls Festival); that of the fifth month is the famous *Tango-no-Sekku* (Boys' Festival), or *Nobori no Sekku* (Flag Festival); that of the seventh month is commonly called *Tanabata-no-Sekku* (Star Festival) because it is dedicated to the star Vega (*Tanabata*); while that of the ninth month is called *Choyo-no-Sekku* (Indian Summer Festival), or *Kiku-no-Sekku* (Chrysanthemum Festival). The name of a flower may also be attached to the other festivals.

There is now, of course, considerable confusion between the old and the new calendars, of which the latter is official, but the former is popular and still observed in country districts. And this confusion naturally leads to some ludicrous anachronisms. For instance, the 7th day of the 1st month (o.c.) was known as *Nanakusa* (Seven Herbs), because the people were wont to go out into the fields and gather seven certain kinds of vegetables for

use on that day, but January 7 is too cold and too early. In some cases, however, the old day is retained, no matter whether it fits the new calendar or not. And not a few people are quite willing to keep both calendars and thus get twice as many holidays!

But, as this whole topic is well-nigh inexhaustible, and "time flies" "like an arrow" here as elsewhere, we may as well stop now, and only reiterate, that assuredly the Japanese have plenty of time!

[Here followed a translation of the official calendar for the current year, with copious notes.]

Dr. Riess made a few remarks, referring to Bramsen's Tables which, he said, were better than those mentioned by Professor Clement.

Dr. Greene expressed the thanks of the Society to Mr. Clement for his paper which contained information which the Society were glad to have in that form among their Transactions.

BASHO AND THE JAPANESE EPIGRAM.

June 4, 1902.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was, by the kind invitation of the Rev. A. F. King, held at St. Andrew's House, Sakae-cho, Shiba, on June 4, at 4 p.m. the Rev. D. C. Greene, D. D., President, being in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting having already been published, were taken as read.

Prof. B. H. Chamberlain then read such portions of his paper on *Bashō and the Japanese Poetical Epigram* as the time at the disposal of the meeting permitted.

He began by giving examples of the tiny literary form in question (called *Hokku* in Japanese), which consists of but 17 syllables all told, thus :—

Naga-naga to (5)
Kawa hito-suji ya (7) } = 17
Yuki no kara (5)

which may be rendered

"A single river, stretching far
Across the moorland swathed in snow."

Entering then into a detailed account of Japanese poetry on its technical side, he showed that these Lilliputian poems had had a history a thousand years long, that they must be regarded, not as wholes, but as fragments remaining over from a complicated game which resembled our "capping verses," and which was a favourite at the Court of Kyōtō in the early Middle Ages; furthermore how, after a period of frivolity and decadence, the Epigram had been taken up in the seventeenth century by the great poet and moralist Bashō, who made it the vehicle for his reform of Japanese poetical taste. Bashō's career was described in some detail, that of his successor in the eighteenth century sketched more lightly. From one very eminent female epigrammatist several quotations were made. Incidentally, various other quotations connected with Japanese literary history were discussed, such as the intrinsic worth of Japanese poetry, the strong influence of China even on the poetry of the island empire, which most writers have hitherto represented as an exclusively native growth, and the influence of the Zen sect of Buddhism on Japanese esthetics and social life. The paper concluded with an Anthology of over 200 specimens of Epigrams covering a period of nearly four centuries,

accompanied by English metrical translations and notes. It should be added that the lecturer throughout employed the term Epigram, "not in the modern sense of a pointed saying, but in its earlier acceptation, as denoting any little piece of verse that expresses a delicate or ingenious thought." He showed the favourite *motif* of the Japanese epigrammatists to have been a vignette of some natural scene or occurrence, though human figures, allusions, and circumstances the most various, even including the Epigram itself in the narrower sense of the word, occasionally supplied them with themes. The best productions in this division of Japanese literature were compared by Professor Chamberlain with such Tennysonian half-stanzas as

> "A single church below the hill
> Is pealing folded in the mist."
>
> or
>
> "The last red leaf is whirl'd away,
> The rooks are blown about the skies."

But he apparently attributed more value to the *moral* influence of the epigrammatists,—especially Bashō,—than to their actual productions, as the form they adopted was too slight a one to result in any very important addition to a nation's literary possessions.

After the reading of the paper which, although an opportunity was offered, was followed by no discussion, the *Chairman* spoke substantially as follows:—

It is a common experience with students of the Japanese language and customs, though an experience of which they have no monopoly, that, often by mere accident, attention is attracted to a new word, or an unfamiliar feature of social life, which they suppose is rarely met

with, if it be not altogether foreign to their sphere of observation, but which thereafter persistently thrusts itself upon them, in season and out of season. This has been the case with me in the matter of *hokku*. For many years the term has been more or less familiar to me, of course, and I have had a vague conception of what they were, but they belonged, as I fancied, to a realm of thought remote from that in which I moved.

However, some two months ago, the opportunity came to me to read Mr. Chamberlain's carefully prepared paper to which we have listened with so much interest and profit. From that time forward, these epigrams have faced me at almost every turn, and my surprise is that I had not recognised them before as part and parcel of my own environment. Not long after reading the paper, I had occasion to make a trip into the region west of Kōbe and in the course of it spent a day or two in Tsuyama, one of it larger towns of Okayama Prefecture. Near by is the village of Ninomiya which we are told was once visited by Bashō, of whom Mr. Chamberlain has told us so much that is interesting. While there, he saw the moon shining amid the clouds upon a pine forest. Deeply impressed with the sight he wrote the famous lines,

Kumo ori ori
Hito wo yasumuru
Tsuki-mi kana,

which Mr. Chamberlain, although he has not read them to us, has included with due explanation in the Anthology appended to his paper.

A little later, but during the same journey, in company with a few friends I climbed a little hill which forms a promontory jutting into the bay just outside the old town

of Kasaoka on the northern shore of the Inland sea. The hill has been for many generations a public park and is much frequented because of the beautiful view it affords of the harbour and the islands, once apparently covered with pines which at once protect and adorn it. Near the top of the hill my friends pointed out a small but conspicuous stone monument which commemorates a visit of the *hokku* writer, Sōgi, to the spot in May, 1494, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. Inspired by the charming view he composed the verse.

Yama matsu no
Kage ya uki miru
Natsu no umi.

This though, like many another *hokku*, it rebels against all attempts at a literal rendering, may be roughly paraphrased thus,

The shadows of the mountain pines
Seem floating in the summer sea.

Embedded in the structure of the verse, however, are allusions which defy the skill of the most expert translator. For example, among the products of that region is a kind of sea weed (*codium tomentosum*) called *miru* or water pine, if we follow the Chinese characters (水松) which represent it, and it would appear that the deft allusion to the business interests of the little port, contained in the words *miru* and *matsu*, had not a little to do in arousing the enthusiasm which the monument symbolises.

Within a few feet is another stone, a disk perhaps four feet in diameter and nine inches thick mounted on a suitable pedestal. This disk records a verse of Bashō's, who, tradition says, nearly two hundred years after Sōgi's visit climbed the same hill and saw the monument to the

earlier sage. Apparently surprised to find he was standing in the very foot-steps of the master, he gave expression to his feelings in the verse

Yo no naka wa
Sara ni Sōgi no
Yadori kana.

that is to say,

Lo the whole world
Is Sōgi's dwelling.

In other words, "Wherever I go Sōgi has been there before me."

This at least gives the meaning which the local scholarship has accepted, and that exegesis confirmed by the best authorities I have access to; though a learned friend, skilled in the thirty-one syllable verses, would translate,

This world is still
The dwelling place of Sōgi.

It is evident that Bashō had in mind another *hokku* o Sōgi's and framed his own on that model, namely,

Yo ni furu wa
Sara ni shigure no
Yadori kana.

which represents our life in this world as spent in a wayside shelter where we merely wait the passing of a shower. This, too, Mr. Chamberlain has included in his Anthology and it need not be commented upon farther. I will merely call attention to the close similarity in form between this and the preceding, as indicating that Bashō was not unfamiliar with the history of his art. Perhaps, too, we may properly raise the question whether the close relationship between these two *hokku* does not suggest that, while the first rendering I have given

represents the *prima facie* meaning of Bashō's verse, it was none the less his purpose that his readers should see a deeper thought. That thought was I fancy, something like this:—

"Sōgi has told us, indeed, that in this world we but wait the passing of a shower, yet, after well nigh two hundred years, his spirit lives and inspires the thoughts of men."

This agrees with the second rendering given above. The two monuments, upon which I may say I stumbled without the least purpose or forethought, illustrate what Mr. Chamberlain tells us of the national character of the *hokku*. They, as well as the first I mentioned. illustrate also how dependent many of these verses are upon time and place. Not seldom they are simply impromptu expressions of a transitory feeling which fell upon ears appreciative of the similarities or contrasts which they were intended to set forth. As such they have played an important part in the social life of Japan. They cannot be fairly judged apart from their setting, and that setting could not be preserved. In their very nature they were ephemeral. Many were low born and deserved their fate, others might be classed with the bright repartee whose short-lived glory we often mourn.

On the other hand, as Mr. Chamberlain has helped us to understand, there are not a few which will live and deserve to live. They have the note of universality. The verse of Chiyō of Kaga, for example, about her little dragonfly-hunter, speaks not to any one race or age. She and others have struck some of the deepest cords of our common human nature.

It is with unusual pleasure that I extend Mr. Cham-

berlain the thanks of the Society for his valuable paper. We shall have much satisfaction in adding it to the already long list of monographs with which he has favoured us.

We shall all join, I am sure, with great heartiness also in thanking our hosts for their very kind hospitality this afternoon. Their thoughtfulness in permitting us to meet under such agreeable conditions has heightened in no small degree the pleasure we have all taken in this most interesting meeting.

ANNUAL MEETING.

History of Political Parties in Japan.

16, December 1902.

By kind invitation of His Excellency the British Minister, the Annual Meeting of the Asiatic Society was held at the British Legation, Thursday, December 18th, 1902, the President Dr. D. C. Greene being in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting, having been already published, were allowed to stand.

Report of the Council—Session 1902.

The annual report of the Council was read by the Secretary as follows:—

The Council of the Asiatic Society has to report for the current year the following events of special interest.

Seven Council and four General Meetings, including the present meeting, have been held. At the General Meetings, papers have been read, in whole or in part, as follows:—

"Autobiography of Arai Hakuseki,"
By Dr. G. W. Knox.

"Japanese Calendars," By E. W. Clement, M. A.

"Bashō and the Japanese Epigram,"
By B. H. Chamberlain, Esq.

"History of Political Parties in Japan" [for to-day],
By A. H. Lay, Esq.

The first three of these papers have been published within the year, and publication of the last has been ordered.

A complete catalogue of publications of this Society has been incorporated in Part II. of Vol. XXIX. The Librarian has also kindly prepared for publication in the Transactions of the Society a catalogue of recent Japanese Books.

Dr. Baelz was appointed a delegate to represent the Society at the *Congrès International des Orientalistes de Hanoi* to be held this month in connection with the Hanoi Exposition.

During the year, twenty names have been added to the list of members, and four members have died. The Council expresses deep regret especially at the death of His Excellency A. E. Buck, United States Minister to Japan, who, by sympathy and active interest, has rendered special service to the Society.

REPORT OF LIBRARIAN. [given later.]

The President announced that, unless objection were raised in this meeting, the Council, in view of no constitutional prohibition, would in future give favourable

consideration to application for membership in the society from ladies.

The election of Members of the Council for the ensuing year to which was for special reasons deferred till after Mr. Lay's paper was read, resulted as follows:

PRESIDENT. Rev. Dr. D. C. Greene.
VICE PRESIDENTS. Rev. A. Lloyd.
Rev. E. S. Booth. (*Yokohama*).
CORR. SECRETARY. E. H. Vickers.
RECORDING SECRETARY,
FOR TOKYO, E. H. Vickers.
FOR YOKOHAMA, Dr. J. L. Dearing.
TREASURE. R. S. Miller.
LIBRARIAN. Rev. A. Lloyd.
COUNCILLORS. Messrs. B. H. Chamberlain.
C. S. Griffin.
J. M'D. Gardiner.
J. T. Swift.
A. F. King.
H. G. Parlett.
R. J. Kirby.
R. Masujima.
W. Weston.
Dr. Macdonald.

Mr. Parlett immediately resigned from the Council, and a motion was carried to the effect that the vacancy thus created should be subsequently filled by action of the Council.

The Chairman then read portions of Mr. Lay's paper entitled: "*A Brief Sketch of the History of Poetical Parties in Japan*" of which the following is a condensed summary.

The idea of popular representation in the government of Japan may be said to have had its birth with the Restoration, although some thoughtful men had been turning their minds in that direction at an earlier date. His Imperial Majesty the present Emperor, in his oath on the occasion of his succession to the throne made known his enlightened desire that men should meet in council from all parts of the country and all affairs of state be determined in accordance with public opinion. This pronouncement may be regarded as the starting point of the movement for parliamentary representation. The germ of the present House of Peers and House of Representatives is found in the *Gi-sei*, a department of the government which was organized as early as June 1868. The *Ko-gi-jo* which was opened in the following year was representative, not of the people, but of the governing authorities in the various localities. The members of the *Sa-In*, which replaced the Ko-ji-jo (or *shujiin*) in September 1871, were nominated by the Emperor and the council of state.

The history of political parties in Japan may conveniently be divided into four periods: (1) From the Restoration up to 1882, while as yet they were in embryo, (2) From the year 1882, when they for the first time took actual shape, until 1888, (3) From the organization of the *Daido-Danketsu* in 1887 until 1898, (4) The period since the amalgamation of the two strongest parties to form the constitutional party in 1898.

During the early seventies, discussion went on regarding the advisability of the formation of a popular assembly. In 1874 was formed the first political society, the *Aikoku-to*, or patriotic society, from which later sprang the Liberal

Party (*jiyu-to*). In the previous year a division had taken place in the ranks of the higher officials of the government. The one party was composed of those who desired rapid progress in domestic matters and a vigorous foreign policy. The other desired steady progress at home and conciliation abroad. The latter party retained control of the government and the former went into opposition. Among the most important of the radical party was Itagaki of Kochi prefecture. He organized the first local society and devoted himself constantly to the attainment of his end of bringing about parliamentary institutions in the country. We thus have Kochi, and later on Hizen, working for the extension of the power of the people, while the government was in the main conducted by Satsuma and Choshu men.

The agitation for popular representation, although checked for a time by the Satsuma Rebellion, gained strength in 1879 and 1880, and the government became convinced that the question could not longer be postponed. On the 12th of October, 1881, the Emperor promulgated the famous ordinance in which the promise was given that a parliament should actually be established in 1890. As a preparatory measure, Ito, in company with a number of junior officials, was dispatched to Europe early in 1882 to study the political systems of the West. The promise of a parliament served to give a more definite purpose to the various political associations, and the year 1882 saw the formal organization of the three parties which, under various names, have continued almost uninterruptedly to occupy the field until the present time. The *Jiyu-to* was the first organized, although not the first to be properly registered as a political association.

It is noticeable that the utterances of the various political parties when they first came into existence present in the main no features of a distinctive nature. All put forth excellent doctrines, but usually of extreme vagueness. The same characteristic has been noticeable throughout their history except when some temporary question of urgency has arisen. This is no doubt the reason why the grouping has constantly changed, one merging into another, and secessions occuring without apparent cause. 1883 and the following years saw a falling off in the interest in political parties,—doubtless a natural result of the over excitement which had just preceded, and of the apparent certainty of a parliament after 1890. The interest in politics and in parties revived, however, as the date assigned for the granting of the constitution approached.

Since the opening of the first diet, the efforts of the parties have in general been directed towards the securing of control of the administration,—the establishment of parliamentary government. Except during the period of the war with China, when all party differences were for the time set aside, the parties have all been in more or less constant opposition to the government. Until within the last year or two, however, no party has possessed for any considerable length of time an absolute majority of the membership of the Lower House, sufficient to enable it control the votes of that body. Political parties have now become a distinct power in the land which no statesman can afford entirely to neglect. From small and unruly beginnings, they have gradually progressed in influence and in organization. As by degrees they have been getting rid of their unruly and dangerous elements, and learning to a greater extent the lesson of responsib-

ility, they have more and more gained the popular confidence. Possessing practically the power of the purse,—for in the Diet the House of Representatives has the first say as to the details of the budget presented by the government,—they have always to be reckoned with.

That there have been no distinct and well defined party issues may be traced to the fact that feudalism gave place so suddenly to a modern state of society. The leaders of thought and those who have taken up the work of national rejuvenation have all been men of progressive tendencies. That the parties have frequently opposed the government in cases where opposition for its own sake has been the only recognizable principle cannot be denied. It must be remembered that they have all along been struggling for a share in the administration. The political parties have well illustrated the intensely democratic character of the Japanese people side by side with marked reverence for the Emperor. The desire for equality and the revolt against the controlling influence of a narrow coterie has all along been exhibited.

At the close of the reading from the paper, the *President* said that only a very imperfect idea of the value of the paper could be gathered from the extracts read. *Mr. Griffin* spoke as follows: Some misunderstanding might arise from Mr. Lay's remark that the parties possessed practically the power of the purse. The control of the Japanese Lower House over the Budget is not to be compared with that of the English House of Commons in similar matters. In the latter case, if I am not mistaken, the House of Lords may in theory reject, but cannot amend the budget as passed by the Commons. In reality the Commons control, in this as in other

matters, by virtue of the latent power of the Cabinet to appoint new members of the Upper House. In the United States the constitution provides that all bills for raising revenue must originate in the Lower House. It would be a serious error, however, to conclude that on that account the Lower House has a greater control over such bills than the senate. On the contrary, the Senate has if anything greater control over this as over other matters than the Lower House. The reason is that the Senate has the general support of the community as well as the Lower House, its members have a longer term of service, and it has control over many appointments to office. In the various countries of Continental Europe also, wherever the Lower House has greater influence on the budget or on legislation than the Upper House, the reason is to be found rather in the general strength of the Lower House in the country, the support which it could rely on in the case of a conflict with the Upper House, than on the privilege of initiation of "money bills." This is true, for instance, of France and Italy.

"I may perhaps take this opportunity to mention two characteristics of Japanese political parties which have impressed themselves upon me in the course of my own, as yet comparatively slight, study of the politics of this country. As in so many other aspects of Japanese life, so also in politics, I think we can see a curious blending of Old Japan with the very latest and most advanced which the West has to offer. It was a remark of the most influential, if not the greatest, English political philosopher of the 19th century, John Stuart Mill, that, even if we could be assured that an autocrat, an all powerful individual ruler, would govern more wisely than a popular

government, we ought, nevertheless, to prefer the popular government for the educative effect which the effort to govern produces upon the people.

Now it will be found that there has been very much conscious or unconscious following of this idea in the pragress of popular government in Japan. In marked contrast to his story of popular government in the West, where parliaments have been forced on the government from below for the protection of popular rights, popular representation has been granted from above in this country, and the people have grown up to it, or are in process of growing. The truth of this is not affected by the fact that contest between rival clans has been an ever controlling factor in the domestic politics of the country since Restoration days. The agitation of the parties has been not so much directed against the measures of the government as against the fact that the government is not controlled by the representatives of the people.

The element of Old Japan in the political parties is seen in the nature of political allegiance. What holds the parties together is men rather than measures. In Old Japan personal allegiance to one's feudal lord was one of the strougest feelings of the individual, and sufficed to give a distinct character to the life of the time. The most important elements of feudalism, the political and economic organization of the society which was founded upon it, have passed away, but the sentimental part remains in the personal allegiance of men to their party leaders of te-day. What would the *Seiyu-kai* be without Marquis Ito, or the Progressive party without Count Okuma? No doubt other leaders would be forthcoming if these were not present, the names of the parties

might be retained, but the membership would almost certainly undergo enormous changes.

The *Chairman* in closing the debate spoke as follows :—

Mr. Lay has placed all students of Japanese politics greatly in his debt by this careful record of the results of a minute and painstaking study. It is no small tax upon one's patience to go through, as he evidently has done, the newspapers and pamphlets of the period under review and bring together in orderly fashion the series of events which illustrate the rise and growth of political parties. His work is marked by unusual candor and impartiality. The limits which Mr. Lay very properly prescribed to himself forbade his attempting to formulate, much less to answer, the many interesting questions which this history suggests, both as regards the past and the future.

It would, of course, be impossible at this time to enumerate these questions, but there is one which not only possesses no little interest in itself but which suggests some important corollaries. Mr. Lay refers to the influence of German political thought upon Japanese politics during the last few years, and regards the growth of this influence as the characteristic of this period. There is no question as to the existence of a marked change in the political atmosphere, and few will deny that this change came about suddenly. As late as the spring of 1897 there was, so far as the ordinary observer could discover, no premonition of it. The cry for party government after the English model was as loud and apparently as earnest as ever, but within less than eighteen months, it had lost much of its strength and in the early months of 1898, some of the strongest voices among the former apostles

of party government were to be heard on the other side, calling for a halt, and a reconsideration of the whole subject. How can we account for this change of face?

Some think it sufficiently accounted for by an alleged fickleness on the part of the political leaders, but this explanation does not explain,—indeed, one can hardly consider the history of the past thirty years without admitting that so far as the main underlying purpose embodied in that history is concerned, there is evidence both of intelligence and of great steadiness. In view of that intelligence and steadiness, it seems more logical to assume the existence of intelligible reasons. To my mind these reasons are not for to seek.

The first in my judgment is to be found in the closer relations which had come to exist between the "elder statesmen" and the party leaders. As Mr. Lay has so clearly shown us, these statesmen came to see that, however opposed they might be to the dominance of parties, it was far easier to carry on the government with a strong party behind them. Hence grew up the more or less temporary alliances between the successive governments and the parties, these necessitated an exchange of confidences which tended to soften the autocracy of the governments on the one hand and the self-assertion of the party leader on the other. The demands upon the governments were for the time being, of necessity, less urgent, and in the intervals between the alliances, party discipline became more difficult.

One result of the increasing appreciation on the part of the government of the need of cultivating friendly relations with the dominant party in the Diet, as Mr. Lay

has told us, was the appointment of political secretaries in the respective departments of state.

The object was to bring the party with which the Ministry was in alliance into closer touch with the government. They were regarded as outside the Civil Service and fell with the ministry to which they were attached. The effect would appear to have been most helpful. It was seen in some degree, certainly, in a new sense of responsibility and a new appreciation of the difficulties with which the government had to contend, In some cases at least there resulted a genuine sympathy with the ministry which became the ground of the harshest criticism and even the most calumnious charges; but the explanation, at once the simplest and most satisfactory, is seen in the steadying effect of the sense of responsibility born of a direct relation to the affairs of government.

Again, the war with China had brought new conviction to all minds of the importance of making every thing subserve the one supreme purpose of strengthening the nation. The grave doubt whether a party government could be a really strong government, in Japan at least, arose in many minds and fostered the hope that there might be found some middle ground, reasonably satisfactory to both sides.

These were simply predisposing causes. They chilled the ardor of many who had been strong party men; but there was I think another and more actively efficient cause operating with especially marked effect in the years 1898 and 1899. It was a closer study of the current political thought of Great Britain and the United States, than had been given it before. There has been, of course, in Japan for many years a goodly number of men who

have studied in Germany and who have won deserved distinction both as students and as administrative officers. They have in many cases practically moulded the forms of administration. It still remains true, however, so far as the great bulk of the Japanese leaders of thought are concerned, that their knowledge of foreign affairs comes to them through English or American channels. It is also naturally true that criticism of Anglo-Saxon methods impresses them far more strongly when coming from Anglo-Saxon lips, or when a distrust of Anglo-Saxon traditions shows itself in the legislative enactments of Great Britain or the United States.

One of the most important distinguishing features of Anglo-Saxon governments, of course, is the stress laid upon legislatures, whether municipal, provincial, or national. The executive has been, wherever possible, made dependent on the legislature. But of late years there has been manifest an increasing distrust of legislatures, and a growing conviction that responsibility must be laid more squarely on the shoulders of the one who stands at the head of the executive. In the case of municipal governments the effect of this changed attitude is readily seen. Take, for example, the municipal charters granted in Massachusetts during the last fifteen years and compare them with those of forty or fifty years ago. Under the latter, the mayor was hedged about with restrictions and all his nominations were forced to run the gauntlet of a more or lesa jealous board of aldermen. Under the more advanced of the modern charters, his powers are largely increased and in the appointment and dismissal of his his subordinates his hand is largely free.

In the case of national governments, the effect of

popular opinion is less promptly seen in the introduction of new forms; but it is clearly manifest in the tone of the political columns of the public press. No one who is familiar with current political thought, either in Great Britain or the United States, can have failed to note the severity of the criticism of the national legislatures constantly appearing and the recurring question in varying forms, How can we check the tyranny of legislatures?

One of the most signal illustrations of this new attitude was a letter by Prof. Goldwin Smith in the *London Times*, in the early winter of 1899, if I re-call it rightly, in which he gave an affirmative answer to the question "Is party government decaying?" This distrust of legislatures is naturally associated with a distrust of party government. It is a manifestation in a different form, possibly, of the same thing.

This lessened confidence in party government in Great Britain and this purpose to strengthen the executive, as against the legislature, seen in the United States, have both made themselves felt in Japan. Prof. Goldwin Smith's article was immediately reproduced in the *Kokumin Shimbun*, the paper which has in its own columns illustrated more clearly than anyother this shifting of public opinion. Its editor had recently returned from a tour of the West, covering a year and a half, during which he had met a large number of leading men. As a result, his confidence in party government as a panacea for the ills of Japan was gone. His journal became, and remains to-day, a conserving force in Japanese politics. He is one of the leaders in a coterie of young but active minds which under the influence of similar doubts has done more in my judgment than appears on the surface to make the

transformation of the Liberal Party into the Seiyukwai possible.

This prompt response of Japanese public opinion to the doubts which have so recently arisen among the thoughtful students of political science in other lands is of the greatest interest. It is but one of many illustrations of the already close, but steadily growing, intellectual sympathy between Japan and the West,—a sympathy which suggests the brightest hopes, from many and diverse points of view.

There are other matters not less deserving of attention suggested by this discussion, but I have already trespassed too far upon your patience. It is with no small satisfaction that we have received this valuable paper to which we are glad to accord a worthy place in our Transactions.

It only remains for me, in the name of the Society, to thank Sir Claude for his kind hospitality this afternoon, which has heightened so greatly the pleasure and the success of our meeting.

The meeting now stands adjourned.

(LIBRARIAN'S REPORT 1902).

Appended to my report will be found a list showing the numbers of Transactions on hand. During the current year there have been added to our Transactions.

vol. xxix. pt. 2.

vol. xxx. pt. 1 and pt. 2.

Vol. viii. pt. 1 has also been reprinted and added to our stock.

In another appendix will be found a list of Exchanges, and of books added to the Library. The department of

our activity is a large and increasing one. It is gratifying to receive so many applications from learned Societies desiring to possess the results of our labours, and willing to add to our Library by generous contributions from their own Transactions; and it is probable that as Japan increases in importance and more and more nations are brought into intimate relations with her, so the desire for learning something about her will increase and there will be a still greater demand for exchanges and contributions.

It is a most desirable thing, only every addition to our Exchanges entails additional demand upon our shelf-room, and our Library is already becoming cramped for want of space. I venture therefore to call the attention of the Society to the great need we have for a larger and more commodious building—one of our own if possible. Such a building should contain a room large enough for Library and Reading Room, a Librarian's office, a Store-house for our books, and a room large enough for our meetings unless perhaps the Library and Reading Room could be made available for this purpose. I do not claim to have any definite scheme in my mind for this; but if, as I hope, we should at this meeting make a start in a right direction by electing ladies to be members of our Society, I hope that they will give us some practical ideas on this subject, and that what they have done so successfully in starting the Tokyo Lending Library may be done equally successfully in helping the Asiatic Society to a building worthy of it.

Last year I undertook to bring out a list of new publications in Japanese. The Collection cost me a good deal of trouble, but I have since discovered a Japanese Society

doing the same work, and I hope that by availing myself of their labours I shall be able to present a much better and more trustworthy list for the last half of this year.

Two most important works remain to be done. Our Library Catalogue wants revision, and a complete Index to all our transactions would add very much to their usefulness. I have done a little (a *very* little) in the way of an Index. I should be glad to hear from any members of the Society who would be willing to aid in the work by undertaking the task of preparing index-slips for individual volumes, or even individuals papers.

In conclusion, I wish to thank Miss Wallace for her kind help in the Library during the last half year.

ARTHUR LLOYD.
Hon. Librarian.

Tokyo, 17 Dec., 1902.

LIST OF TRANSACTIONS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN IN STOCK.

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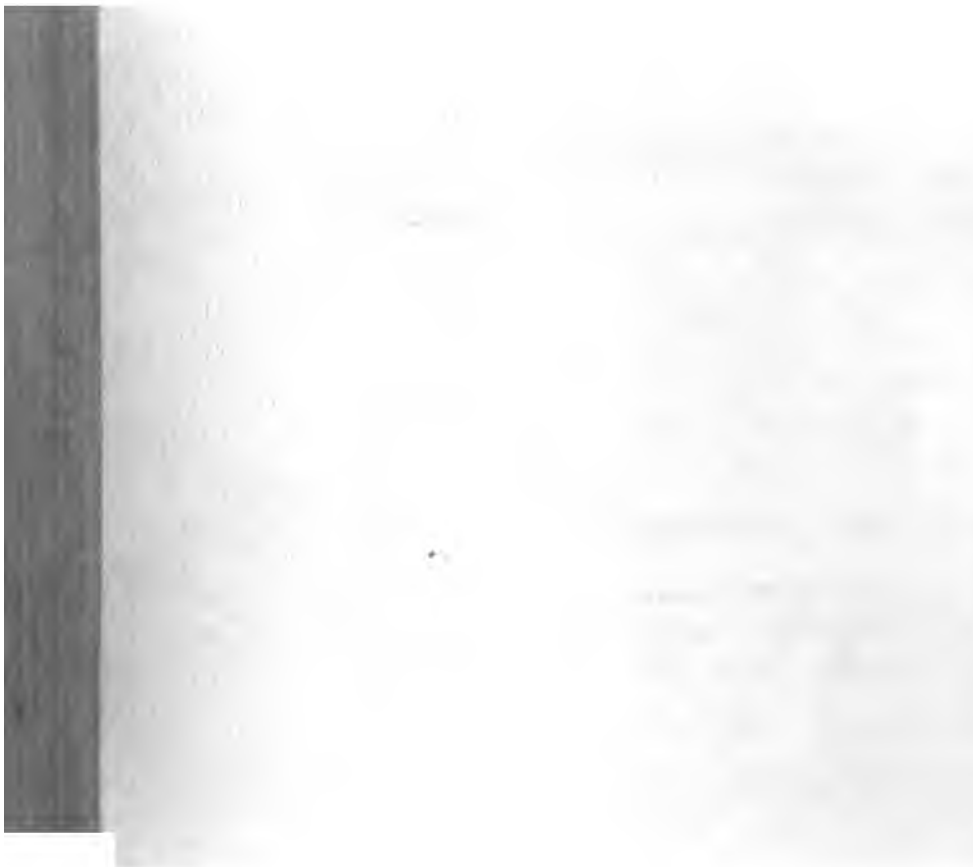
LIST OF PAMPHLETS AND ODD PERIODICALS.

1. Catalogue des Livres Chinois, Coréens, Japonais, etc. par Maurice Courant.
2. Formosa under the Japanese—The Saichu Prefecture, by Rev. W. Campbell.—F.R.G.S.
3. Journal of Geology—Vol. X., No. 5, July-August 1902, from the University of Chicago.
4. Les Peuples de l'Indo-Chine, et des Pays Voisins "San-Tsai-Sore-Hoei" par Leon de Rosny (1874.)
5. Festchrift-Orientalisten-Kongress.
6. Ressources Végétales des Colonies Françaises.
7. Calendar of the Kyoto Imperial University.
8. Twenty-eighth Annual Report of the Minister of State for Education. (Tokyo 1900-1901.)

LIST OF EXCHANGES.

1. Bulletin de la Sociètè d'Anthropologie de Paris.
2. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society of Australia "Science of Man."
3. Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.
4. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
5. Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
6. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society—Straits Branch.
7. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society—Ceylon Branch.
8. Journal Asiatique.
9. Bibliothèque d'Etudes.
10. The Chinese Recorder.
11. Journal of the American Geographical Society.—N.Y.
12. Records of the Geological Survey of India.
13. Memories of the Geological Survey of India.
14. Catalogue of Plants of the Geological Survey of Canada.
15. "Geographical Journal"—Proceedings of Royal Geographical Society.
16. Report and Transactions of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society.
17. Boletim da Sociedade de Geographie de Lisboa.
18. Japan Weekly Mail.
19. Anales del Museo Nacional de Montevideo.
20. Mittheilungen des Vereins für Erdkunde zu Leipzig.
21. Notulen van de Algemene en Bestuurs—vergarderingen van het. Bataviaasch Genootschap van kunsten en Wetenschappen.

22. Zeittschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.
23. Oesterreichische Monastschrift für den Orient.
24. Journal of the American Oriental Society.
25. Révue de L'Historie des Religions.
26. Proceedings of the Royal Society, (London).
27. Boletim Mensal do Observatorio do Rio de Janeiro.
28. Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.
29. Bulletin of Free Museum of Science and Art.
30. Proceedings of the Washington Academy of Science.
31. Dagh-Register.
32. Tijidschrift voor Indishe Taal, Land en Volkenkunde.
33. Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasche Genootschap van Kunst and Wetenschappen.
34. Annotationes Zoologicae Japonenses.
35. Annual Report of the Curator of the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard College.
36. Bulletin of the Museum of Comparative Zoology of Harvard College.
37. Transactions of the Ungro-Finnish Society, Helsingfors.
38. Transactions of the Oriental College, Hanoi.
39. Societas Scientiarum Fumica. Helsingfors.
40. Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen. Berlin.



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Young, Robt, Kōbe Chronicle, Kōbe.

MINUTES OF MEETINGS.

By kind invitation of Rev. A. F. King, a General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held at St. Andrew's House, 11, Sakae-chō, Shiba, at four o'clock on November 4th.

The Chirman announced that the Minutes of the last Meeting had already been printed and might be allowed to stand so in the records, without reading.

The Secretary read and explained an amendment proposed by Council to Article XV of the Constitution. That Article, as amended March 20th, 1901, is: "All Members of the Society shall be elected by the Council. They shall *as a rule* be proposed at one Meeting of the Council and ballotted for at the next, one black ball in five to exclude; *but the Council may, it they deem it advisable, propose and elect a member at one and the same Meeting.* Their election shall be announced at the General Meeting following." It is proposed to amend it so as to read: "All Members of the Society shall be elected by the Council. They shall be proposed at one Meeting of the Council and ballotted for at the next, one black ball in five to exclude; but the Council may, if they deem it advisable, propose and elect a member at one and the same Meeting: *Provided, that the name of the Candidate has been notified to the members of the Council at least two weeks beforehand.* Their election shall be announced at the General Meeting following." The Chairman announced that, in accordance with the provisions of the

Constitution, action on this proposal must be deferred until the next General Meeting.

Dr. Baelz then read an interesting and instructive report on his visit to Tonkin as Delegate of the Society to the Congress of Orientalists held in connection with the Hanoi Exposition. The report was as follows:

A REPORT ON A VISIT TO TONKIN.

By Dr. E. Baelz.

At the end of last year I had the honour to represent this learned Society at the Congress of Orientalists, which was held in Hanoi, the capital of French Indo-China, from the 4th to the 8th of December 1902, in connection with the East-Asia Exhibition.

The government of Indo-China, had sent most liberal invitations with every imaginable facility for going there and for the sojourn at Hanoi, and I fullfil a pleasant duty in giving expression to my gratitude for all the politeness and kindness I met with in private as well as in official circles at Hanoi.

From Tōkyō alone not less than three other societies had decided to send delegates to the Congress: the German Asiatic Society, represented by Dr. Florenz, the Tōkyō University, by Prof. Takakusu, and the Tōkyō Tōyō-gakukai, whose representatives were Mr. Nanjō and Mr. Fukushima.

Withal it was not easy to find out the best and quickest way to Tonkin. Even at the Yokohama agency

of the Messageries Maritimes, which line was to run special steamers between Hongkong and Haophong (the port of Hanoi), they could not tell us the time of the departures from Hongkong, or rather they gave us the wrong time, as we found out when we arrived at the latter port, the special steamer for Haiphong having left two days before. We now had the choice between the coasting steamers of the subsidized French line and a private German line. A subsidized steamer leaving the next day, we engaged berths, but found her a rather poor affair. Yet we had the advantage of touching at three ports of Southern China, and to get at least a glance at the land and the people there. The first port reached after twenty two hours sailing along the coast was Kwanchouwan, in French spelling Quangtchéou. This is the bay which France took in 1899, as a compensation, it is said, for the German occupation of Kiauchou. Nominally it was leased from China, but one knows what leasing means in the eyes of western powers, and France, like Russia at Port Arthur, England at Wei-hai-wei, and Germany at Kiauchou, made herself at home in Kwanchouwan, and the very sanguine and energetic Governor of Indo-China, M. Doumer, gave to his countrymen at home such a glowing account of the commercial and military possibilities of the place, that large sums were voted for constructions and for railways.

Kwanchouwan is situated near the tropic of Cancer in latitude 21° N., and longitude 110° E. It is a large bay of a gourd-like shape, running North and South. The depth is from 18 to 20 metres, but the entrance for large steamers is after all only a very narrow channel, near a dangerous bar, which will have to be removed at a cost of 7,500,000 fr. At the end of the bay, where it is about

a mile and a half wide, are the settlements, the one on the eastern shore being called the military town, while the other, on the western shore, is the civil town, which notwithstanding its peaceful profession, boasts of the proud and warlike name of Fort Bayard. Both are in every respect separate and independent.

The country is flat all around, only to the west of the bay is an isolated hill, which serves as a land mark for ships. At some distance back of the military settlement, half a dozen miles away, rises a flat mountain range which is said to contain a crater lake, to be utilized later on for drinking-water but, as it is at least 8 miles distant the undertaking will prove a rather expensive enterprise.

The soil is everywhere sandy and good water is, even with artesian wells, not easily obtainable, a fact particularly bad for the civil town as it is so far not included in the waterworks scheme. For the present, it is true, there is no need of much water there, as the whole white population consists of 17 people, of whom only one is not an official. But the place is beautifully laid out, there is a first, second and third avenue, intersected at right angles by other streets, 15 yards wide, and lined with four rows of young trees, which however do not take kindly to the soil. Altogether, the vegetation is rather poor, the only tree growing to any size and in any abundance being what is called the Chinese lilac. Apparently the civil settlement as such has no future within a measurable time and in consideration of this there is a question of making it a base for the navy, with jetties, docks, arsenals etc, which would cost no less than 25,000,000 francs. The few civilians would then settle across the water in the military town, which

has quite an imposing appearance. The landing there is not yet easy, the sampans not being able to reach the land, owing to the shallowness of the water, and each passenger is carried ashore on the crossed hands of two coolies.

Here too every thing is sandy and flat, yet there is quite a number of new large, whitish, or yellow clean-looking buildings, solidly constructed of brick. The architect is a captain in the artillery, who has put to splendid use the results of his studies at the Ecole Polytechnique. His workmen were the native Chinese and the Annamite soldiers, of whom there are 350, under the direction of French officers and sergeants. The Europeans, 600 altogether, look quite healthy, and it appears that every thing is done to made the place satisfactory from a hygienic point of view. The barracks are two storied, airy, with a liberal allowance of space for the soldiers. There is a well-built hospital besides the usual official dwellings for the governor and the officers. But what strikes one most, is the new Cathedral the size of which is quite out of proportion to the present population. Near the church is a small beehive-like brick hovel with some holes in it, which is said to have been the refuge of Christians in times of persecution. The vegetation is a little richer than in the civil town, but one big banyan tree is a sufficiently striking object, to serve as a landmark. There was a Chinese fort, where the military town stands, but it was found in such a horrible state of filth, when taken over by the French, that it was thought advisable to destroy it and to strew the place repeatedly with quick-line for purposes of disinfection.

Although we were now in the last days of November,

it was very hot and oppressive, and the summer must be a hard time for Europeans.

Altogether one may doubt, whether Kwanchouwan was worth taking. The concession occupies 840 square kilometres with 200,000 inhabitants, who live in some towns and in numerous villages at some distance. The sanguine Governor General Doumer's plans as to the future of Kwanchouwan will probably never be realised. He saw in it the basis for a great naval station and at the same time a port which might tap the trade of the Chinese provinces Kwangshi and Kwantung and divert it from Canton and Hongkong. This was to be done by a railway to Wenchoufu on the West River. So this, till lately, lonely, pirate-haunted, bay seemed to be destined to form an important link in the Great Indo Chinese empire, which M. Doumer wanted to build up. But the railway would be costly, and transport by water being so much cheaper, it is not probable that the above named ports would lose the trade of the West River.

M. Doumer having returned to France, his countrymen become rather sceptical as to the future of Kwanchouwan, and it is not improbable that all the great plans for fortifications, for harbour work, and arsenals will be abandoned in favour of the bay of Along, which is near to Haiphong, is enclosed by French territory, instead of being an enclave, and would therefore be a far more suitable base for the defence of the colony.

From Kwanchouwan it took us 9 hours to arrive before *Hoihao* on the island of *Hainan*. The sea here is so shallow, that at low water we could not get nearer than within about four miles of the shore. Hoihao lies opposite the main land from which it is only 10 miles distant.

It is the main port of the big island, and it has, with the neighbouring town of Kuingchou, 30,000 inhabitants, amongst them 60 Europeans.

Hoihao is the seat of a Chinese Customs office, and it has, notwithstanding its difficult access, a lively trade mainly with Hongkong. It is said that Hainan has two million inhabitants, the greater part of whom are so-called "savages," yet from what I was told by one of the Customs officials, they seem to be not as bad as their reputation. Their language makes it probable that they belong, like the Siamese and a part of the Annamites, to the *Thai* branch of the southern half of the yellow race. Anyhow Chinese influence has been strong enough to insure the adoption of the pig tail.

The women of the so-called tame inhabitants on the south coast near Yulinkwan wear garments of rather pretty patterns, of which only a few samples have reached Europe so far. There, as in the whole chain of islands extending from Saghalin to Borneo, Japan alone excepted, the *women*, and they alone, tattoo their faces, in Yulinkan, in the form of two thin straight lines on each cheek and something like an arrow, with the point upwards, on the chin. Amongst the savages some of the men are said to be tattooed too.

The French, who consider Hainan as belonging to their sphere of interests, have followed in Hoihao the same plan as in other parts of South China, and they have besides their consulate, a subsidized school under the direction of Catholic Missionaries, and a Government hospital with a naval surgeon at its head. This practical method has succeeded well, not in Hoihao only, but in

all the larger towns of Kwantung, Kwangshi, Keichou, and Yunnan.

It is said that France regrets not having leased Hainan at the same time as Kwanchouwan, as nobody would have opposed the occupation then; and there can be no doubt that the island, which is as large as Ceylon, might in the course of time prove a very valuable acquisition. Yet even then the trade would probably, as now, be in the hands of Englishmen and Germans, as French merchants do not emigrate.

From Hoihao we went in 16 hours to the southernmost open port of China, *Pakhoi*. The passage is often pretty rough owing to the strong current at the southern entrance to Hainan Strait. The town is said to have about thirty thousand inhabitants, and with its two-storied white or grey brick houses, covered with white-lined tiles, it makes at a distance, a far more substantial and western impression than a Japanese town.

The place has further a curious aspect owing to some high square solid walled buildings towering like castles above the other houses. These are pawn houses, which seem to play an important part in the life of the townspeople. The favourable impression disappears, however, as soon as one enters the streets, which are narrow, filthy, and full of horrible smells.

The aspect of the numerous junks in the harbour reminds us that we are now within the area of the notorious Chinese pirates, which extends from Canton right down to Tonkin. Each trading junk carries from two to four guns and a corresponding number of rifles, just as did European merchant vessels during the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. There is a garrison, too, of 250 tall and soldierly

looking men under an officer who was trained by von Hannecken. They have Krupp guns, which are kept in splendid order.

The women wear very curious hats. From a round flat disc of straw, with a hole in the middle for the top-knot, hangs all round a piece of dark blue cloth covering the whole head almost down to the neck. As this makes the women quite helpless in the streets, the cloth is generally lifted more or less in front, although that is quite against the etiquette. It is said that this strange headgear was forced upon the women of Pakhoi by a governor, who found that they tried to attract the attention of men in an unbecoming way, and to this very day the hats are called in Pidgin English, Hide-shame hats. The swine at Pakhoi are of a remarkable breed: small black animals with a regular saddle and the belly reaching right down to the ground. Hogs are nowhere pretty, but these animals beat all their tribe in ugliness. They are to be seen everywhere, even in the streets of the town.

Leaving Pakhoi at three in the afternoon of November 24th, we came in sight of the coast of Tonkin near Haiphong at daylight. The approach to this most important port on the whole eastern coast of Indo-China is not very inspiriting. It is true, on the right hand that is to say, towards the north, there is a wild naked range of abrupt mountains, about 500 metres high, enclosing the famous Bay of Along; but before us everything is flat. We are in the great velt of the Red River, famous for the wonderful fertility of its plain, which was definitively conquered by the French after many vicissitudes. A canal has been cut through a big grass-grown bar of alluvial sand admitting, at high water, steamers up to about two

thousand tons. A group of houses towards the north-west marks the bathing resort of Doson where, *faute de mieux* the inhabitants of Hanoi and Haiphong take refuge during the greatest heat of the summer. The large white building on a flat green plateau is a Sanatorium of which there is much need in this unhealthy climate; for where now the modern town of Haiphong stands, there was nothing but swamps little more than 10 years ago. Now we steam into a harbour with but little shipping; and land at a regular stonewalled jetty, pass our luggage through the customs, and taking jinrikishas (here called *pousse-pousse*) are soon wheeled along wide well-laid roads into the main street of Haiphong. Everything is solid and most modern. The clean street with its rows of trees, the new white houses, the *cafés*, the telegraph and telephone wires, all would make us feel in an European town, were it not for the tropical heat and for the strange race of yellow people populating the place. Of Europeans very little is to be seen; indeed, after the bustle of Hongkong or Shanghai or Yokohama, the whole town seems to wear a dead appearance. Yet one can not but admire what the French Government has made of a most desolate and horribly unhealthy place. Every square foot of the town is made land; as soon as one leaves the foreign quarter one sees everywhere pools and swamps between the houses of the native population, who number somewhat over 20,000 souls, whereas the French number 1100.

There are several obstacles to the greater development of Haiphong. The first is the insufficient depth of the sea. This could be remedied by a large canal from the bay d'Along, through the swamps, which could be made at an

expense of 20 million francs; and which probably will be made in the case of Kwanchouwan being given up and the Bay d'Along being chosen in its stead as a naval station by the Government. Haiphong, as the great commercial port of the Indo-Chinese empire, would then be accessible to large steamers, and at the same time have the advantage of being protected by the French navy close by in the case of war. The other drawback is the preferential tariff which imports from France enjoy; this is the source of a great income from foreign merchandise, but it cripples the trade of foreign nations, and as it is, there is not much prospect of a large commerce between the mother-country and the colony. Even with the high duties, hardly 50% of the imports come from French harbours, and of the exports only one tenth goes there. It is therefore no wonder that again and again voices are raised to make Haiphong a free port.

Haiphong is connected by rail with the capital of Indo-China, *Hanoi*, the distance being 84 miles. The line is about the same gauge as in Japan but the cars are wider and larger: almost as wide as in Europe. The first-class is comparatively expensive, and with its soft cushions, rather hot in such a climate. The third-class has curved wooden seats and large windows with curtains; it is therefore airy and preferred by most passengers. Then there is a fourth class, which is the special feature of the whole system. It consists of very large cars forming an open space, covered with a roof only, and lined with narrow seats all round. The passengers, who pay a ridiculously small fare, are charged some thing for the merchandise which they take with them, and so the whole car looks like a wandering market, on wheels full of rice, millet, vegetables

fruit, fish, and all kinds of other merchandise, and those things are handled here just as in one of the market halls of the Tonkin towns. People are bargaining, selling and buying, and this curious sight affords to the traveller a good opportunity of studying the types and the habits of the natives.

The line runs through the fertile delta and valley of the Sonkai or Red River, which has its origin in Southern China in the province of Yunan, and which forms the line along which French enterprise hopes to open not only Yunnan but also Kweichou and particularly Szechwan. Seeing the country with villages half-hidden in bamboo groves, with ricefields, and their little dams, with canals, and peasants carrying on each end of a pole a basket, and trotting along the paths with conical straw hats and in short trousers, one might imagine oneself in Japan if it were not for groups of Areca palms here and there. The train takes fully five hours to cover the 84 miles between Haiphong and Hanoi. Shortly before reaching the latter city, the Red river is crossed on by far the longest and finest bridge in the Far East. It is over a mile long, and very gracefully constructed in iron. It cost five million francs, which sum was paid out of the colony's own revenue. So we were at last at the place of our destination, Hanoi.

Hanoi, the capital of the Indo Chinese Empire, as it is often styled in French literature, is a creation of hardly a decade, and yet it is undoubtedly the finest European town in the whole of Eastern Asia, a creation of which France may be justly proud. It is splendid alike in conception and in execution. Everywhere fine well-kept wide streets or rather boulevards with from two to four

rows of trees, and elegantly paved sidewalks wide enough for the crowd in the Rue Royale in Paris or in Regent Street in London, the centre bring formed by a beautiful lake with two picturesque islands in the midst of a fine park: electric light and electric tramways every where, coquettish carriages drawn by diminutive yet graceful and swift horses, jinrikishas at every corner, it is little short of marvellous, what has been done in such a short time.*

The adjoining native town with its hundred thousand or more inhabitants, with its clean streets lighted by electricity and traversed by electric railways, with its picturesque, two-storied, white brick houses, makes a very pleasing and far more solid impression than Japanese towns. It is difficult to describe the houses, suffice it to say that they show unmistakable Chinese influences, having at the same time something special which reminds one of the Moorish Orient.

It is only a few years since Hanoi was made the capital. Until then Saigon had been the leading town in French Indo-China. But when M. Doumer was made Governor-General he decided, that, in the interest of his grandiose plans, the capital must be further north, nearer to China, for the whole of southern China was, in the mind of that ambitions and energetic man, to be included in the French sphere of influence; and he at once prepared everything for the peaceful conquest of the provinces of Yunan, Kweichou, and Szechwan, by means railways, schools, missions etc. For an Empire comprising the whole of the present French possessions, and influencing those Chinese provinces, with more than 80 millions

* Since my visit, a terrible typhoon has worked shocking havoc in Hanoi, and the beautiful park round the lake has been almost destroyed.

of inhabitants, and extending from Saigon to the upper valley of the Yangtze, Hanoi would indeed recommend itself as a well situated centre. For all these plans a loan of 200 millions francs was necessary. Tonkin was not popular in France just then, and it seemed very doubtful whether such a sum could be obtained. But M. Doumer was not the man to be discouraged. He went to France himself, and, thanks to his contagious enthusiasm and the glowing picture he drew of the future of the French colonial empire, he was successful. He got the 200 millions, and railway and harbour building was begun at once. But the only recently conquered province of Tonkin did not yield enough to keep up such enormous expenses, so the formerly separate provinces of French Indo-China, Cochinchina, Cambodja, Annam, Laos, and Tonkin, were made into one state with a common budget. Thus the surplus of the very rich province of Cochin-china could be made available for Tonkin, and this was done. That the southern provinces did not like the arrangement, is natural, and M. Doumer was never popular there. But he was so, for some time at least, in Tonkin, on which he concentrated all his efforts, it being contiguous to southern China. Yet numerous sceptical voices were raised in France. Therefore, to show to the world what France had already done in the East, and what a fertile and promising country she possessed there, M. Doumer conceived the idea of an International East-Asia Exhibition in Hanoi. He set to work at once and everything was done on a grand scale. The Main or Art Building of the Exhibition is a permanent stone edifice in the style of the Louvre at Paris, and by its dimensions as well as by its proportions satisfies even very high expectations. The other

buildings were structures erected for the purpose, and were to be taken down afterwards. They contained the exhibits of Indo-China, of China, Japan, the Philippines, Siam, and some specimens from Java, Sumatra and Polynesia. There were besides, ethnological exhibits with specimens of almost all the various tribes and inhabitants of South-Eastern Asia. The usual pleasure-resorts were there too. The whole was situated within well-laid out grounds, and made a pleasant impression. One saw everywhere that no expense had been spared to make the whole a success. But like, most exhibitions, it was not successful from a financial point of view; in fact it could not be, as the entrance was free. But it was never expected to be a financial success. The Government voted a certain sum of money to impress the world and particularly France, and the inhabitants of Tonkin, who were carried to Hanoi for the purpose at reduced railway rates; and they availed themselves largely of this facility. Had they been possessed of any spirit of enterprise they might have profited economically as well by starting new industries or improving the existing ones.

The exhibition was to have been opened on November 1st 1902, but the inauguration was postponed for a fortnight and even when we arrived in the last days of November it was hardly quite ready. I am sorry to say, that the Japanese exhibition was the poorest of all, poor in quality of the exhibits, and defective in its arrangements. This is the more to be regretted, as the Chinese exhibition next door was the best of all. It is hardly conceivable why a nation, artistically gifted as the Japanese are, should on such occasions be conspicuous by the absence of good taste. It seems that in Japan even great

exhibitions are considered as a kind of bazaar (kankōba), where the wares are put into crowded cases without any regard to artistic effect. It was so at the Paris exhibition, and it was so now in Hanoi.

That the number of foreign visitors did not come up to what was expected, is after all not astonishing, for Tonkin lies outside of the great routes of travel, not one of the great steamer lines of the Far East touching there, and then the season (winter) was not the one which people select for a visit to China and Japan, the two countries, which attract the immense majority of travellers. No doubt some day the Messageries Maritimes Steamers will include Haiphong amongst their ports on the way from France to Hongkong, but now they only touch at Saigon and from there it is five days travelling along the coast of Annam in second-class ships; and again three or four days to Hongkong.

Anyhow those who went to Hanoi to see the exhibition, did not regret it. Even the climate was favourable, December being a delightful month in Tonkin, neither hot nor cold, and sunshine almost every day. In summer it is very different. Then Tonkin has the unenviable reputation of being the hottest place in French Indo-China, so that particular care has to be taken against sunstrokes. Towards the end of January a two months period of fine drizzling rains sets in, and then, too, the place is not fit for a visit from people travelling for pleasure.

The Congress of Orientalists connected with the exhibition, was held under the auspices and under the direction of the French school of the Far East. This is not a school in the common sense of the word, but an institute for scientific investigation. There are no students,

but a body of young professors, who make a special study of the languages and the history of Eastern Asia, in particular of Indo-China. Yet there is a chair for Chinese, and one for Japanese, the occupant of the latter, Mr. Maitre, being in Japan now. There is the nucleus of a splendid library, and there will be a museum connected with the school. The institution is of quite recent oirgin, but with its competent staff of professors it promises to become one of the most important centres of scientific researches in the East. It is regrettable that there is no chair for ethnology and anthropology; for valuable as the researches into inscriptions, history, and languages, may be, the people to whom they belong, ought to be studied too, and from my own experience I may say that there are few parts of the world which compete with Tonkin in the variety of tribes, nations, or races; and they are comparatively easily accessible to study. So far, all that we know about these tribes is due to the labours of doctors belonging to the French army or navy, and to French officers. I can not indeed let pass this occasion without paying a compliment to the earnest scientific spirit prevalent amongst the French officers in Indo-China, who have contributed so very much to our knowledge in many different fields of investigation.

The Congress lasted from the fourth to the eighth of December. The attendance was less than had been expected, and particularly noticeable was the fact that not one of the distinguished Orientalists of France, who had formed the Comité of Initiative of the Congress in Paris, put in an appearance. This was a great disappointment to the foreign delegates and members, who had been eagerly looking forward to the pleasure not only of hearing

valuable communications from the mouths of leading men, but also of making their personal acquaintance, which in such cases is generally of great value, as furnishing the younger generation or those who have not much time for special studies with new ideas and with frequent suggestions. However, the meetings were quite satisfactory, although no important discovery was made public and no contribution to our knowledge of the Far-East was made such as might have far reaching consequences in the domaine of science. Tokyo had sent more numerous representatives than any other place. Professor Takakusu, of the Imperial University, read a paper on the Sankhyakārikā in the light of its Chinese version, and on the voyage of Kanshin to Japan; Professor Florenz made communications on the Archaic poetry of Japan, and on a Japanese novelist of the 17th century. Your representative spoke on the races of Eastern Asia, Mr. Nanjo Bunjo on the Saddharmapundarika, and Mr. Fujishima on the History and Doctrine of the Shin Sect.

Interesting excursions were made first to the spot where a capital stood two thousand years ago, which has now completely vanished and then, by a special train, to the Chinese frontier beyond Langson, to the so-called Porte de Chine (Door of China). This latter excursion offered a good chance to see the country, which is quite flat, being the Delta of the Red River, as far as the town of Bac-ninh, which will be an important railway centre within a few years. Here the line along which we travelled further on (the only one in working order so far), divides from the great line, which, following the Red River, is to reach the Chinese frontier at Laokai, whence it is to be carried on to Mengtse in Yunnan, to Yunnanfu, and even-

tually into Szechuan, which the French regard as within their sphere of interest, in China. Another line from Bac-ninh leads due south to Namh Din, the greatest manufacturing town in Tonkin. Beyond Bac-ninh distant chains of hills appear on each side which, closing up more and more, reach the railway at Kap, 42 miles from Hanoi. From here the line passes through country which shows two kinds of mountains as different in form as can be imagined; one form consists of numerous mound-like hemispherical hills, to which the French have given the significant name of Mamelons. They rarely attain a hundred feet or more of height, and their surface is mostly covered with high grass or shrubs. Behind these soft hills, or between them, or sometimes out of the level plain, rise steep rugged abrupt perpendicular mountains, and mountain ranges, sometimes a thousand feet high, at others not higher than a house. Where they occur in the plain, their contrast with their surroundings, without any gradual transition into the latter, makes a very picturesque and almost bizarre impression.

On the heights of such a range there are a number of isolated deep crater-like depressions, which are however not of volcanic origin. On the contrary, the most probable explanation of these various mountains is that they are old coral reefs. This theory explains the craters or circuses, as they are called in French, in a most natural way, and it is borne out by the fact, that they contain enormous holes and caves. One of these caves near Langson, which we visited, has been changed into a Buddhist Temple; it is like the Benten Cave at Enoshima on a grand scale. This cave, as well as the circuses on the mountains, served as refuges and as a kind of fortresses

for the lawless bands of Chinese who are generally called pirates (even on the terra firma) and who gave the French a good deal of trouble when they conquered the country in the nineties. The whole low country was once covered by sea, and the rocks of the famous bay of Along near Haiphong. which is grander and, in its way, at least as fine as the best parts of the Japanese Inland Sea is simply a continuation of the steep mountain ranges. Here the single rocks or mountains are still separated by water, which in the course of aeons may disappear too.

Langson is the head town of this mountainous district; it is beautifully situated, and seems a healthy place. It has a strong garrison. All along the line one sees from time to time, on the tops of hills, white houses with or without towers, which look like Italian villas, but they serve a less idyllic purpose, being simply for military posts.

The railway leads on to some miles beyond Dong Dang, and then the rails stop abruptly in the open field within one foot of the Chinese frontier. The valley is here very narrow, bordered on each side by steep cliffs, on one of which, high, high up towers a Chinese fort, looking down on the French frontier fort, which, though situated on a hill, is far below it. The narrow valley, or rather the pass, for it is a pass, is closed by a double castellated wall of formidable aspect, which climbs up the mountain on each side, but which would not be of much use against artillery fire. The monster which is painted over the main gate of the building in the centre of the pass, looks, from its sheer ugliness, more dreadful to a European eye, than all the Chinese soldiers together.

The Chinese Colonel, on whom we called, was a very kind elderly gentleman who treated us to tea and cigarettes. The French have got the concession to build the railway on though the pass into the province of Kwangshi to Nanningfu and thence to Wuchoufu, both on the West River; but in one way or the other the Chinese officials have so far prevented that extension, perhaps not much to the detriment of the Indo-Chinese tax payers, as it is very doubtful whether it will ever pay from a commercial point of view. So far the railway, with its 120 miles of length, may be said to be purely strategical or political.

How will it be with the *pièce de résistance* amongst the railways in Indo-China, the one into Yunnan and eventually into Szechuan, for which the definitive concession was granted by the Chinese only a few days ago? This is nominally a private enterprise with a capital of 100.000.000 fr. (4.000.000 £). In reality the capital is raised in this way: 12.500.000 fr. by the company, the same seem as a subvention by the Government of Indo-China, and a guaranteed annuity of fr. 3.000.000 for 25 years, equal to 75 000.000 to be paid by the colony too. Thus the company itself pays only 12 % of the whole capital, the country pays 88 %, and yet the whole profit goes to the company! One is inclined to think that a railway under such conditions, *must* pay a good dividend if not, it is certainly not worth being built. Other projected railway lines are to run length-wise and across the whole of Annam, and to connect Saigon in Cochinchina with Bankok in Siam. But none of these lines will be completed in the near future, since the present Governor General, Mr. Beau, takes a far more sober view

of all these grand but expensive schemes, than his sanguine predecessor, who wanted to build up the French colonial Empire in hot haste.

French Indo-China is composed of five provinces: Cochinchina with 3.000.000 inhabitants, Cambodja with 1.600.000, Laos with 1.000.000, Annam with 6.000.000, and Tonkin with 10.000.000. This, together with 289.000 inhabitants in Kwanchouwan, brings the total up to nearly 22.000.000 on an area one fifth larger than that of France. I take these data from the guide book to Indo-China by Madrolle, who had access to official information. Yet the almanac of Gotha, based on official statistics too, gives only 17.000.000 for the same year. The difference is explained by the absence of any reliable census of the population of Tonkin, the estimates of which vary between three and ten millions. The former number is certainly far below the reality.

The revenue and expenditure of the whole Colony were estimated at 27.000.000 piastres each for 1902, that is about 25 million yen. The trade balance is greatly in favour of exports, of which only $\frac{1}{10}$ went to the mother country.

The inhabitants of Indo-China all belong to the southern or Malay branches of the yellow race; the natives of Tonkin and of northern Annam, the so called Annamites, being more like the southern Chinese, than the other, who come nearer the Siamese and the Javanese. Yet the general characteristics of the yellow race are so pronounced that not only I, but even my Japanese fellow travellers could not make out Tonkinese dressed in European style from Japanese. In fact, in a case in which I raised some doubt, the three Japanese delegates to the

Congress took a man to be undoubtedly a Japanese who was a pure Tonkinese. Such experiences are a strong support of my often expressed but often opposed opinion that there is no characteristic and decisive difference between the Japanese, Chinese and Korean on the one, and the so called Malay races on the other side.

It is true, that the aristocratic northern type of the one with the long oblique eyes, the aquiline and nose, the long face, is very rare in Indo-China yet the "emperor" of Annam himself, has these eyes in a most marked degree.

Altogether the Annamites are a rather weak race, small and slender. The fine tall figures of many Chinese and the splendid muscular physique of the Japanese fisherman or peasants are the great exception. On the other hand they are more elegantly and more gracefully built, particularly the women. I know no country in the Far East where women have so gracefully shaped wrists and ankles, and where they carry themselves so splendidly upright, or where they walk as in well as Tonkin. On the other, hand, the faces are not pretty or regular, though sometimes sweet.

The disposition of the natives is, as in most tropical countries, languid, and there is a general want of energy and activity, which forms a marked contrast to the Japanese. Here, again, we see that peoples belonging originally the to same stock may under different climates and circumstances develop quite a different character and temper.

What are the prospects of Indo-China? This question has been very differently answered. Some authors take a glowing, some a gloomy view, amongst the latter not a few Frenchmen. For instance Mr. Marcel Monnier,

whose book: the "Tour of Asia" has been awarded a high prize by the French Academy, is amongst these. He sees too much officialdom everywhere, and too little private enterprise. That is, indeed, the fundamental drawback in French colonies; but as France has no increasing population, there is no inducement for emigration, and as long as merchants, and engineers and agriculturists do not go to a colony on their own initiative, it can not be quickly developed. But there can be no doubt, that the French government has done all within its power to help on private enterprise as well as public works by giving every possible facility to all who are ready to invest money and risk their health in the opening up of Indo China. Unfortunately it is hampered in its well meant efforts not only by the usual difficulties attending the governing of a numerous, indolent, native population by a handful of Europeans, but also by the constant opposition of the French press organs in Tonkin itself. On seeing their unrelenting and far-fetched objections to whatever the administration does, one is reminded of the Irishman, who was shipwrecked on an unknown island and whose first words to the first native he met, were. "What is the government here? I am against it." There may have been mistakes, most probably there were, there may be taxes, which weigh heavily on the natives, but altogether the position of the latter is undoubtedly much more favourable under French rule than it ever was under their native mandarins. They are more independent, they are taught new kinds of industry, fertile bnt uncultivated parts of the country are opened up by roads and railways, and if the native population did not profit by these advantages, it would be its own fault.

There are still many other questions, which might be touched here, the chances of the culture of coffee, tea, camphor, tobacco, the Chinese immigration question, the influence of the climate on Europeans etc., but I fear I have already trespassed too much on your patience, and I close my report with the remark that, when one sees what wonderful progress India, Ceylon, Burma, and many other tropical countries have made under British rule, a rich and fertile country like Tonkin should have a brilliant future before it, if equally well administered and developed.

The report held the close attention of all those who were present and elicited comments and questions from Rev. Walter Weston, Mr. Gubbins and Dr. Greene. The President, in behalf of the Society, warmly thanked Dr. Baelz for his entertaining and instructive report; also Rev. A. F. King for hospitality in entertaining the Society; and declared the Meeting adjourned.

MEETING AT YOKOHAMA.

25. November, 1903.

A special general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held at Van Schaick Hall, Yokohama, on Wednesday afternoon Nov. 25. Rain unfortunately fell just about sun-down and this, combined with the imminent departure of the Christmas mail for Europe, the Convent concert, and other social fixtures, undoubtedly kept a goodly number of folks away.

The Rev. E. S. Booth presided and in introducing the lecturer said that meetings of the Asiatic Society in Yokohama had been very rare of late years. He could remember, 15 or 20 years ago, when they frequently met in the Grand Hotel parlours, and Professor Milne would come down from Tokyo and tell them of his latest discoveries in the then new science of seismology and how he would send them home shivering with fright at his very emphatic assurances that the very centre of seismological activity in Japan lay almost within their view in the middle of Tōkyō Bay.—(Laughter). The Council of the Asiatic Society had long been considering the calling of a meeting in Yokohama so that residents could see that the Society was still in active existence and was still carrying on its excellent work of research and investigation, but the opportunity did not immediately present itself until to-day. That afternoon the Society had to place before them a subject possessing exceeding great novelty, novel in that it was seldom nowadays that one could meet a man

who had come straight from a land still shrouded in mystery. The speaker that afternoon had come to tell them about some of his adventures in Thibet, and more particularly in the closely guarded city of Lhassa. In the latest number of the *Century Magazine* appears an article by a Russian, a Mr. Ushe Narzunof, who describes a visit he had paid to Lhassa, and this gentlemen and the lecturer that afternoon, were the only foreigners—outside the Chinese, of course—who had penetrated within its walls during the past 25 years. Mr. Kawaguchi spent 1½ years in Lhassa and at the request of the Council of the Asiatic Society he had prepared a lecture upon his adventures. Now, to save the interruptions inseparable if the lecture was first delivered in Japanese and then translated into English, the Rev. H. H. Guy had kindly visited Mr. Kawaguchi the previous day and obtained from him an outline of the lecture. This outline he would proceed to read to them, and afterwards, Mr. Kawaguchi would be pleased to answer any questions and to explain and describe the very interesting collection of Thibetan curios which were placed about the Hall.

Mr. Kawaguchi, speaking in Japanese, expressed his thanks for the honour done him by the Asiatic Society and also by the ladies and gentlemen who had assembled that afternoon to hear his adventures. He was particularly indebted to Mr. Guy for the work he had done in connection with the translating of the lecture.

The Rev. H. H. Guy then went to the reading desk. He said that Mr. Kawaguchi left Japan on June 26th, 1897, arriving at Darjeeling on August 3rd, of that year. On January 5, 1899, he left Darjeeling for Calcutta and and proceeded thence to Buddhagaya, to visit the famous

temples there. From thence he took a month's journey to Khatmandoo and then passed on to Mount Dhwalagiri. On the northern side of the mountain he found the hill-side village of Lohtzalahn, where he stayed a year perfecting himself in the Thibetan language and customs. He left Lohtzalahn on June 12, 1900, and though the road was obstructed by soldiers he reached the borders of Thibet on July 4, 1900. To avoid suspicion, he made a detour and went to Lake Manasarowar, and then at Gyanima found a market town frequented by Indian and Thibetan merchants. From this rendezvous he made his way round Mount Kailas and eventually reached Lhassa on March 21, 1901. He at once went to a *sera*, or priest college, one of the great Llamaseries which abound in Lhassa, and obtained a temporary lodging. Though not a physician in reality, Mr. Kawaguchi found it expedient to adopt the role, and having succeeded in effecting some astonishing cures—astonishing from the Thibetan point of view—he found his path fairly smooth for awhile. There is a peculiar kind of dropsy very prevalent in Lhassa, which, if taken in time, can be cured, and, Mr. Kawaguchi being fortunate in his treatment of some dropsical patients, his fame spread abroad, and the Minister of Finance took him to live at his house. So great was the belief of the Thibetans in his healing powers that they were persuaded that he could heal all sorts of disease, and Mr. Kawaguchi is convinced that many people were actually healed by faith alone. But his popularity almost led to his undoing, for the practitioners grew jealous of his fame and his life was threatened. Through the influence of the Grand Llama the danger passed. This great dignitary having heard from the mouths of some

poor priests whom Mr. Kawaguchi had cured free of charge, of the mighty powers of the *pseudo*-doctor, the Grand Llama proposed that our traveller should become a Court physician. The head Court physician, the *Teikan*, was accordingly instructed to present Mr. Kawaguchi to the Grand Llama. This audience took place in a detached palace on the north side of the Kichu river. The walls of this palace, like all other specimens of purely Thibetan architecture, were concave, Inside the gate the traveller found buildings having flat roofs like buildings in Calcutta, while others bore roofs of the high Chinese design: some of the gardens were laid out in accordance with the Chinese system of landscape gardening, while others were laid down with broad lawns and grass-plots in the European style—these showing undoubted traces of Anglo-Indian influence. Mr. Kawaguchi had received minute instructions as to his procedure on reaching the audience chamber, and so when he entered the apartment with the Head Physician, he bowed thrice, striking the floor each time with his head: then he crawled along the floor towards the Grand Llama and received his blessing, the Llama placing his hand on the suppliant's head. After a formal introduction the Grand Llama said: "I hear that you have been performing great cures: go on, I will see that you are looked after." A brief conversation followed and then Thibetan tea—tea mixed with salt and butter—was handed round, and a few questions regarding Chinese Buddhism closed the audience.

Mr. Kawaguchi, describing the appearance of the Grand Llama, said that in August, 1901, he appeared to be about 26 years old; a large man, with eyes more almond-shaped than the average Chinese. A Chinese phrenolo-

gist who saw him passed this remark, "He is a man who will cause a rebellion." The look of the Llama might be described as being sharp like a fox. He usually wears the clothing of a Thibetan priest, but when transacting affairs of state he assumes silk garments cut in the style of the clothes worn by the common people. He was educated at the Rebun College in Lhassa, where he graduated, and he claims to be the 13th incarnation of the Bohdisattisvista. In character he is exacting, but has great sympathy with the lot of the common people. He readily hears their requests and helps them. He is just, impartial in judgment, and possesses great political resources. He is undoubtedly more interested in politics than in religion, and is looked upon as a man of great power and influence among the people. But foreign politics as they influence Thibet are a source of great worry to the Grand Lama, who dreads foreign interference. To illustrate this, Mr. Kawaguchi tells a story related to him by the Thibetan Minister of Finance. In December, 1901, a Thibetan who had been sent to Russia to try and arrange a secret compact, returned and reported that "Russia would help Thibet at any time, in spite of any interference on the part of England." This gave the Grand Llama much peace of mind. Thibet has had relations with China since the 7th century, but it was not till 1700 that she became a dependent on China. Now Thibet is almost independent again and China's influence there has fallen to earth. This is largely the result of the China-Japan war, news of which quickly found its way to Thibet. It seems that, when that war broke out, China sent Imperial messengers to the Grand Llama asking that prayers might be offered for the suc-

cess of the Chinese arms. To carry out these wishes, the priesthood throughout Thibet were engaged, and to render their prayers more effective, mimic battles were arranged in which the priests took part. With reference to these wholesale prayers for China, another good story is told. Thibet is supposed to pay tribute to China, but as a matter of fact she pays nothing. She squares the bill in this fashion. Every year, on the 6th March, the Thibetan priesthood has to pray for the Chinese Emperor. This involves some expense, so the Chinese tribute money is ostensibly employed in paying the costs of the Emperor's annual prayer-meeting, and part of the expenses incurred in sending messengers to Peking to enquire after the Emperor's health. Priests and laymen are equally involved in these transactions.

Russia first became interested in Thibet through a Buriat Mongolian who went to Thibet to study Buddhism. He was followed by others of his race, and when Russia took over the Buriats and incorporated them in her Siberian dominions she soon took advantage of the situation. The first Buriat student, Ngakuwangdordge, was a man of some importance and he studied for 20 years at the Rebun College and, graduating, become a Doctor. He eventually became teacher to the present Grand Llama when but a child, and on the foundations thus laid built up a position of power and influence. When this Buriat returned to his own country it did not take long for the news to reach St. Petersburg that he had been a teacher of the Grand Llama, and he was sent back to Thibet loaded with money and other acceptable things. These he presented to the priests, the teachers in the Colleges at Lhassa, and to others of influence. Then when Chinese

influence began to wane upon the close of the China-Japan war, he strengthened his position still further and taking advantage of an opportunity said to the Prime Minister, "If Thibet does not look to Russia, England will do her damage." Then the question arose, what sort of a man is the Russian Emperor, and it was not long before the diviners found that he was "an incarnation of Maha Bodisatva—the Maha Bodisatva who is to unify the world." This declaratiou fitted in with the Thibetan belief that Utopia (Paradise) lies to the north of Thibet and that the founder of the new religion will come from there when he sets about founding the kingdom of the whole world. Thus with fine words and the expenditure of much money, a great faith in Russia was stimulated among the official classes. Toys, pistols, watches, all ostensibly made in Russia but really hailing from America, now began to filter in as presents for the folks of influence, while the Grand Llama himself received a Bishop's robe from the Czar. An embassy was now organized to thank the Czar for his presents, and the Lord Chamberlain (Danieru Cheumo) was sent to St. Petersburg. He was reported in December, 1901, to have made a secret compact with Russia. Two months later a caravan of about 200 camels came from the north, bringing rifles and small foreign things, a present from Ruesia to Thibet. Mr. Kawaguchi learned of the contents of the caravan from the Minister of Finance, with whom he was then living. Though these relations with Russia are most pleasing to the Grand Llama and the Prime Minister, the people in general are in great doubt as to the purpose of such intercourse and are asking many questions. The

Grand Llama, however, allows nothing of this grumbling to come to the surface.

England's relations with Thibet have proceeded through Darjeeling, and many have been the efforts made by the Indian Government to establish a state of good feeling. At Darjeeling there are schools were Thibetans can obtain their education free; scholarships are given to those students who show special aptitudes, and these later obtain positions as teachers, secretaries and surveyors. Thibetan students greatly appreciate the advantages to be obtained in India, for in their own country they suffer many hardships, and when they return home they spread abroad a spirit of good-feeling for England, the English officers, and the Indian Government. Indeed many of them held the belief that the late Queen Victoria was an incarnation of Paludenlhamo, a famous idol in Lhassa, who is either the Goddess of War or Minerva. When they heard of her death they said she had returned to her own country. There can be little doubt that the general opinion among the people of Thibet is in favour of England. With regard to Nepaul, which lies on the Thibetan boundary, relations are rather strained at present. Thibet fears Nepaul, which is an independent monarchy having an army of 40 or 50 thousand men, and Thibet still pays the Nepaulese a tribute for the conquest made by the latter in Thibet. Mr. Kawaguchi was present in Nepaul when the tribute bearers arrived and he was fortunate enough to obtain from the Head of the Mission himself all the particlars relating to the overture made by Russia to the Grand Llama. Mr. Kawaguchi found the Nepaulese much like the Japanese, but the great weakness of the country arises from polygamy which

leads to much internecine strife and many murders and assassinations. Summing up the political situation in Thibet at present, Mr. Kawaguchi is of the opinion that Russia is in the lead through the officials, but should she take steps to enter the country even with an armed force, she would then encounter the strong feelings which the people have for England. This naturally raises the question: has Thibet the desire to be independent?—and Mr. Kawaguchi's answer is that the Thibetans as a nation have no spirit of independence. Rather they are of a dependant spirit: they want always to lean on some one stronger than themselves, and this development of their character he atttibutes greatly to polyandry. Yet the population is increasing tremendously. Already Thibet has to import a great deal of barley from abroad; her cotton clothing is all purchased from India, and her trade relations with that country are expanding in all directions, so it seems that if England only pursues the right methods she must inevitably become the protector of Thibet.

At the close of the lecture the speaker invited questions. In answer to Mr. A. BELLAMY BROWN Mr. KAWAGUCHI said be entered Lhassa in the garb of a Thibetan, a red woollen robe, and when interrogated as to his profession he said he was a Chinese physician. Of course he spoke Thibetan all the time.

In answer to another question, Mr. Kawaguchi said that he was obliged to leave Lhassa in consequence of a merchant from Darjeeling giving it out that he was a Japanese priest. He had to leave at once.

The Rev. Walter Weston said that with reference to the remark that Mr. Kawaguchi was only one of two foreigners who had been in Lhassa, he supposed that

this only referred to the last quarter of a century. A great many foreigners had really been there from the 14th century downward.

Mr. Kawaguchi.—Yes, that is so. The remark would only apply to the last 20 years, and of course Chinese are continually coming to and fro.

Mr. Weston wanted to know whether Mr. Kawaguchi had any idea whether Major Younghusband's boundary commission, which they read of occasionally in the papers, had any prospects of success.

Mr. Kawaguchi said the commission would undoubtedly have to suffer great hardships and privations owing to the great cold of winter. The question of provisions was a serious one, and besides they must expect the opposition and hostility of the Thibetan soldiery; still a good campaigner might hope to see his mission crowned with success.

Another questioner asked what was the reason for England sending such an expedition.

Mr. Kawaguchi explained that England had long been desirous of making a treaty of friendship with Thibet, but had never succeeded. Just opportunely a dispute arose between Nepaul and Thibet with reference to the boundary line dividing the two states. Thibet said Nepaul had taken too much, but instead of sending commissioners to fix the line at once, Thibet delayed and delayed. Then the Indian Government intervened and got together a scientific expedition which was now encamped on the borders of Thibet waiting the arrival of the Thibetan commissioners.

Another gentleman wanted to know whether Russia would send a similar commission and what would be

the success it might expect; to which Mr. Kawaguchi replied: *Keredomo*: *Watakushi wakarimasen*, and raised a general smile.

Finally, Mr. Weston said that a great deal of interest was attached to the election of the Grand or Dalai Llama of Thibet, but very little was known regarding it. Could Mr. Kawaguchi give them any information on the point?

Mr. Kawaguchi said that the election of the Grand Llama was called an act of inspiration. The four chief temples of Lhassa were called upon to select a new Grand Llama, and as the gods had not time to call a council and decide among themselves who was to be the Grand Llama, each temple took a hand, and its chief wrote down the name of a child whom it thought fit and proper to fill the office. These four names were then placed in a golden box and sealed. The box remained unopened for seven days. Then with all pomp and ceremony it would be brought out before a solemn conclave of the higher priesthood, the seals broken and a slip withdrawn. The child whose name appeared on this slip became the new Grand Llama.

On the motion of the Rev. E. S. Booth a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Kawaguchi and his able interpreter, Mr. Guy, was cordially given, and then the rest of the time was spent in examining the unique objects of interest which Mr. Kawaguchi has brought from Lhassa.

By unanimous vote, Article XV. of the Constitution was amended, as previously proposed, to read: "All Members of the Society shall be elected by the Council. They shall be proposed at one Meeting of the Council and ballotted for at the next, one black ball in five to exclude; but the Council may, if they deem it advisable,

propose and elect a member at one and the same Meeting : provided, that the name of the Candidate has been notified to the Members of the Council at least two weeks beforehand. Their election shall be announced at the General Meeting following."

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

14. December, 1903.

By kind invitation of His Excellency Sir Claude MacDonald, the Annual General Meeting of the Asiatic Society was held at the British Legation, Tokyo, on Monday, December 14th, at 4 p.m.

The minutes of the previous meeting were taken as read.

The Secretary read the list of Members elected during the year; also the following

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL—SESSION, 1903.

The Council of the Asiatic Society has to report for the year ending to-day the following matters of interest.

During the year, nine Council Meetings, two General Meetings and one Special Meeting have been held. At a General Meeting on November 4th, Dr. Belz read a report on his visit to Tonkin as a Delegate of theSociety to the Congress of Orientalists held in connection with the Hanoi Exposition. At the meeting to-day, Professor A. Lloyd lectures on "A Chapter in Indian History." At a Special General Meeting in Yokohama, November 25th, Mr. Ekai Kawaguchi lectured on his "Visit to Lhassa."

Mr. Lay's paper, "History of the rise of the political parties in Japan," read at the last annual General Meeting, has been published as Part III. of Volume XXX. of the Transactions. No new papers for publication have been accepted within the year. Such "lean" years are perhaps inevitable for a Society which depends wholly on voluntary contributions. The Council keenly regrets this,

and is therefore specially glad to report at least four papers as being already in prospect for next year.

In other directions, the Council can report encouraging progress. Accessions to the membership of the Society have been eighteen—seventeen newly elected members and one renewal. Losses have been three—two deaths and one resignation.

As indicated by the number of meetings, the Council has actively worked to promote the interests of the Society. It has ordered the publication, for information of members and others, of a pamphlet containing the Constitution as revised to date, and a complete list of all publications of the Society. It has had prepared an index of one number of the Transactions, with a view to ascertain the cost and the feasibility of preparing an index for all the Transactions. It has with the aid of special committees revised, and in some cases slightly modified, the prices of Transactions, taken steps to infuse greater interest in the election of Officers and Members of Council, and fixed terms on which Learned Societies and Libraries (not private) may obtain publications of the Society on regular subscription. Finally, it has under its supervision a Committee engaged in the extensive work of arranging works in the Library with a view to renden them more easily accessible and thus vastly to increase the utility of the Library. This is merely a brief record of things done.

The Report of the Treasurer was presented as follows:—

TREASURER'S REPORT, ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN,
DECEMBER 14, 1903, RECEIPTS.

By Balance in bank Dec. 16, 1902. ...	2,513.82

By Membership fees	406.33	
By Sale of Transactions	580.75	987.08
By interest and Miscellaneous.....		65.87
		3,566.77

EXPENDITURES.

To Librarian, for printing of Transactions, assistant, postage, &c.	401.32	
To Insurance	100.00	
To Rent (2 years).....	200.00	
To Postage	21.07	722.39
To Balance in Bank, Dec. 14, 1903....		2,844.38
		3,566.77

R. S. MILLER,
HON. TREAS.

The Librarian said that he was unable to make a formal report. A year ago he had stated that the space of the Library was so over-crowded that, not only were the works in the library more or less inaccessible, but also there was absolute lack of accommodation for publications actually being received. The matter was brought to a head by the arrival during the Summer of four large cases of books from the Smithsonian Institution. Council appointed a Committee to investigate the condition of the Library and to remove to some school library such publications as were hardly likely to be used in the Library of the Society. That Committee began to hold sessions in October, and is still in the midst of its labours. The result is such a confusion in the state of the Library that a report at present is impossible.

The election of Officers and Members of Council for the ensuing year resulted as follows :—

President, Professor A. Lloyd; Vice Presidents, for Tokyo, Dr. D. MacDonald; for Yokohama. H. B. M's Consul-General, Mr. J. C. Hall; Corresponding Secretary, Professor E. H. Vickers; Recording Secretary for Tokyo, Professor E. H. Vickers, for Yokohama, Dr. J. L, Dearing; Treasurer, R. S. Miller, Esq.; Librarian, Professor J. T. Swift; Members of Council, B. H. Chamberlain, Esq., Professor C. S. Griffin, J. McD. Gardiner, Esq., J. H. Gubbins, Esq., Rev. D. C. Greene, D. D., Rev. A. F. King, R. J. Kirby, Esq., Rev. Walter Weston, Professor E. W. Clement, Rev. H. H. Guy.

Professor A. Lloyd, having been introduced by the Chairman, Rev. D. C. Greene, D.D., read his lecture on.

A Chapter in Indian History.

There are two points that I wish to make by way of preface to this paper. In the first place, it is, I fear, on a subject which however attractive it may be to me personally, cannot be made amusing or interesting even to the majority of my hearers or readers.

In the second place, I fear, that in addition to being neither amusing nor interesting, it will have to bear the reproach of not even being instructive. To be instructive there must be at least a certainty about the thing taught; but when we come to the History of India all is uncertainty, confusion and guess-work. We cannot tread with the firm step of the historian who is confident of his ground: all that we can do is to grope and feel and make a cautious step here and there. The

only thing then that I can say about my paper is that it is tentative, and possibly suggestive; and with these few words of introduction I will plung into my subject.

Our earliest knowledge of India—the India of the Vedas, a thousand or more years before Christ—shows us the country then, as now, under the rule and dominion of a white race of conquerors. The white conquerors of antiquity spoke of themselves as the Aryans—the brave race, possibly, or the men of culture—and invading India from the N. W., across the Indus and through the upper reaches of the Ganges and Jumna, naming this district the *Ary a varta*, or home of the cultured.

This district came under their own direct rule, but their power and influence reached out far beyond the lands which they had formally annexed to themselves. As far as the mouths of the Ganges, as far as the Vindhya Hills and beyond them, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, they extended their influence and their presence, and, being a race of energy and power, they gradually acquired for themselves everything that was worth having in the lands which they had chosen for their adopted home. They were the priests, and the warriors, the merchants and the farmers, and from these professions which they thus monopolized they took the names of their highest classes or castes—the *Brahmans* were priests, lawyers, and scholars, the *Kshattriyas*, were warriors, and the *Vaisyas* were farmers and merchants.

These three classes—the aristocracy of ancient India—were a close corporation, held together by pride of birth and station. They were *dvija*, "twice born," "the regenerate"—the term had a social as well as a religious meaning with them—and they had nothing but contempt for what was outside of their pale.

What was outside of these three holy castes was marked off by a colour line as sharply drawn as that which is now drawn in the United States. The *Sudras*, and the *Pariahs*,—the former, the dark-skinned aborigines living in Aryan states as helots, serfs, or bondmen, and the latter, the aboriginal hill-tribes altogether outside the pale of Aryan civilization,—none of these were "twice-born," none of them possessed the *Arya varsha*, or Aryan colour. They were on the other side of the colour line, and between them and their light-skinned conquerors no social intercourse was possible. They tolerated each other, and that was all.

A good deal of the history of India may be summed up as a record of continual upheavals of the downtrodden aborginal races against the Aryan predominance, and especially against the high-handed tyranny of the of the Brahman caste.

In these upheavals they gained unexpected allies from the ranks of their oppressors. The Brahmans, who were priests, lawyers, and scholars, often exhibited in their dealings with their fellow Aryans of other castes, a combination of intolerance, cunning, and pedantry which the others bore with a very ill-grace. Or, it often happened that a Kshattriya or Vaisya, living away from his own people on his estate or farm, where he had none but aborigines to associate with, gradually came to be drawn closer to his neighbours and associates, and to lose touch with his own people whom he saw but seldom. In these and in other ways there grew up a discontented party amongst the Aryans themselves, and thus there was formed between the two races an intervening class, formed from both, whom I should compare, if it were

not obviously an invidious thing to do so, with the "poor white trash" of the South. In the hands of these men the opposition to Brahman despotism took a more enlightened as well as a more spiritualized form. Several of the great schools of Hindoo philosophy are esteemed heretical by the Brahmans: they were established by discontented Aryans seeking some logical ground for their opposition to Brahmanism. Several forms of religion showed themselves in opposition to the religious system which had grown out of the worship of Vedic times. The most noted of these—Jainism and Buddhism—were the Kshattriyas, men of the warrior caste, in revolt against the ceremonialism of the Brahmans.

Buddha died in B.C 481 (that is at least the commonly accepted date). His long life had been spent in the inculcation of a simple and yet exalted system of religious morality which was well calculated to unite together into one the complex network of races that live together in the peninsula of India. Buddha knew nothing about a privileged race of twice-born people, nothing about the colour line that separated Aryan and Pariah. His salvation was free for all men, and his community of monks made no distinction between clean and unclean. He tried to weld India into one body: and if we remember that during the years of Sakyamuni's ministry the Persian King Darius Hystaspis established himself in the Punjab, we shall not perhaps be astonished at the success which attended his efforts. India perhaps felt that she needed a united front to present to the new invader.

Buddha died in B.C. 481, and within a few weeks of his death, his followers, meeting in Council in the cave at Rajagriha, recited in an oral form the whole of his

teachings on doctrine, morals, and discipline. That they could recite it orally speaks volumes for the simplicity of the original deposit of Buddhistic teaching.

Just one hundred years later it was necessary to hold a second council, and the subject discussed was the Ten Indulgences. The early Buddhist morality had been a hard and severe one. It was admirably suited for a band of religious fanatics going forth in the first burst of missionary enthusiasm. When the number of adherents became a large one, and when for other reasons it became necessary or at least advisable to attract to the Buddhist cause as large a number of adherents as possible and to let Buddhism loom as large as possible in the eyes of the world, it was very natural that a demand should arise for a relaxation of the original rule. This, I think, will be found to give a satisfactory reason for the Ten Indulgences which the Second Buddhist Council sanctioned.

The Brahmans were at this time weak and divided: the Buddhists strong and buoyant with hope. They were evidently straining every nerve to become the dominant state religion of India, and it was not long before they got their chance.

In B.C. 334, not fifty years after the Council which had granted the Ten Indulgences, Alexander the Great started out on his career of conquest, and eight years later, B.C. 326, crossed the Indus, defeated the Indian King Porus at the Hydaspes, and threatened the whole of India with his power. Porus was a Brahman, and in his person Brahmanism had showed herself powerless to defend India from invasion. It is true that Alexander died soon after, but Hellenism had come to stay, and India needed a saviour. The saviour was found amongst the dark-skin-

ned aborigines and the hour of Buddhist prosperity had come.

In the middle reaches of the Ganges, on the confines of what is now the province of Bengal, with its capital near the city now known as Patna, was the Kingdom of Magadha, a country which for centuries had been ruled over by a dynasty of Aryans with liberal tendencies who had from the earliest times been very favourably disposed towards Buddhism. Magadha was, in fact, the head-quarters of Indian Buddhism, and if we take a map of India and compare the position of Patna with that of Delhi, which in later years became the capital of the Mogul Emperors, we shall see that it was not so badly placed for becoming the seat of Empire for the whole of India.

In the year 320, three years after the death of Alexander, a successful insurrection placed on the throne of Magadha an adventurer of the Sudra caste, Chandragupta by name, who established a dynasty that lasted for many generations. He was not a Buddhist but he was certainly not a Brahmanist, for he did what no Brahmanist would have done—he married the daughter of Seleucus Nicator, the general who succeeded to the Asiatic dominions of Alexander, and by his consummate state-craft saved India from a conquest by the Greeks.

Chandragupta, (who has been supposed to have been by religion a Jain) died B.C. 291. His son may be passed over: his grandson, the celebrated Asoka, came to the throne B.C. 263. Asoka was a man of strong religious feelings, he has been called the Constantine of Buddhism, he might perhaps equally well be called its Kaiser Wilhelm, for he had all that monarch's fondness for preach-

ing sermons to his subjects, and he preached them on stone so that they might never be forgotten. Originally, like his grandfather, a Jain, he was converted to Buddhism some years after his accession, and distinguished, himself by the fervour of his zeal in the propagation of his new faith.

A third Council was held: doctrines revised, discipline restored, and what was more, a great band of missionaries sent out towards all the four quarters of the compass to preach the faith to which the Great Asoka had given his adherence, and, it may be, extol the power and justice of the great monarch who, in early days, had styled himself Piyadasi, "the friend of the gods," and who had now become the patron and friend of the Buddhists.

Within a few years after the close of the Council, the Buddhist emissaries had pushed out from Magadha to Kashmir and Sind in the West, to Ceylon in the South, to the Malay Peninsula, Java, and Siam, in the South and East. What they took with them we know from the conditions of Buddhism in Ceylon, the country in which Budddhism has found a more congenial soil than anywhere else in the world. It was no longer that simple and condensed form of words which the early disciples had been able to recite without books in the cave of Rajagriha, neither did it consist of tremendously long dissertations such as the Dai Hannya Kyo (Maha Prajna Paramita Sutra) known to Buddhists in Japan. The sacred books of Buddhism, written in Pali, and revered in Ceylon, are those known as the scriptures of the Lesser Vehicle, and form as it were a mean between the brief simplicity of the original deposit and the lengthy prolixity of some of the Mahāyāna Scriptures. They are far

more philosophical and less theological or doctrinal, and perhaps not so lofty in their aim.

Asoka died in B.C. 225. His principal work was undoubtedly to promote the spiritual and ethical welfare of his subjects, but mixed with his religious work there seems to have been more or less of a lower ambition—the desire to be the ruler of a mighty Empire and to unite the peoples of India, as far as might be, under one sceptre. These dreams, however, were destined only to have a transient fulfilment. His heirs were not the inheritors of Asoka's genius: the dynasty which he had founded passed away, and not many years after his death, Northern India passed under a foreign yoke. From B.C. 181 to B.C. 151 mixed hordes of Greeks and Bactrians re-established the conquests of Alexander and Seleucus, and Graeco-Bactrian influence established itself in the peninsula. It is in this period that is placed the life and activity of Nagasena, the forerunner of the Mahāyāna School of Buddhism, known to us through a book in which he is represented as discussing religious problems with Menander, one of the latest of these Graeco-Bactrian Kings. The book itself is probably of a later date, but the very fact of its existence points to the existence of the tradition which makes the Greek King Menander to have been a Buddhist.

The age of the Graeco-Bactrian Kings—B.C. 180 B. C. 100 must have been an age of great commercial and literary activity. Rome, which had just destroyed the Empire of Carthage, was in the period of greatest expansion. Syria and Egypt were still mighty monarchies, and the luxury which was already then invading Europe made great demands on Indian commerce. Greece and India acted and reacted upon one another, and the influence

mostly exercised by Greece upon India was not purely Hellenic, but Hellenic mixed with Syrian or Egyptian elements.

I have often thought, and here I write more by way of conjecture and suggestion, that it is to this period, when the intercourse between India and the Levant was so frequent, that we must ascribe the origins of Gnosticism on the one hand, and a part of the Mahāyāna Scriptures on the other.

Gnosticism, I know, did not make its formal appearance in the world until some time after the appearance of Christianity, but Gnosticism was a very complex system of philosophy, if philosophy it may be called, and complex systems such as this do not spring into existence in a day. I look upon Gnosticism as a system of eclectic religionism which took something from Buddhism, and something from India, and something from Palestine and something from Greece and which, confronted by the rising tide and youthful energy of Christianity, took something from that faith too. But Gnosticism existed before Christianity, and has so many points of similarity to Buddhism that it is impossible to avoid the inference that the two have had some connection with one another. Certainly, the Greek word *gnosis* has the same meaning as the Sanscrit *bodhi*.

It is in this period also that I feel disposed to place the beginning of some part of the Mahāyāna Scriptures.

It is known that there are among the Mahāyana writings a few that select Amida as the sole Buddha to whom the devout seeker after salvation need have recourse, and who place in the Western Paradise of Amida the Heaven which should be the immediate goal of this life's

religious aspirations. The books themselves, as we have them, belong perhaps, from their style, to a later century —I am not judge enough to express an opinion on that —but we find in Greece and Rome at this time a tendency to Henotheism, the picking out of one God to the exclusion of others: we find the same in Hindooism in the devotion to Krishna as the one divine being who is worth cultivating, out of the whole number of divine beings, and I look upon Amida as the Buddhist answer to Krishna and the counterpart of the Gnostic conceptions of later times.

But to return to history. About 100 years before Christ, a Turanian tribe, sometimes spoken of as Scythians, and sometimes as Sakae, in Chinese *Sze*, invaded India, and established a Kingdom in *Kashmir*, which lasted fully three centuries. When Our Lord was born, a Scythian monarch (an ancestor of the present Rajputs) was sitting on the throne of the largest and most powerful state of India: and when the first Christian preacher came to India, the sovereign of the state to which he is said to have come was the Buddhist sovereign Kanishka (A. D. 64–120). Kanishka was not only one of the greatest Kings of the north of India, but also one of the most zealous of Buddhists. It was he who summoned the third, or, as some call it, the fourth Council of Buddhism, and it was he who, with the assistance of As'vaghosha and Nāgarjuna, pushed the preaching of Buddhism far beyond the borders of India proper, to Thibet, to the country beyond the Himalayas, and as far as Turkestan.

Kanishka's council, which was held, according to the generally received opinion, about the year A.D. 60 or 70, settled the first draft of the Mahāyāna Canon of Scripture.

What that Canon originally comprised is not exactly known. It certainly did not contain the whole of the multitudinous volumes which now belong to it, for many of these are confessedly of a much later date: but its principal books were certainly the so-called nine *dharmas*, of which the *Mahaprajna Paramita Sutra* (Dai Hannya Kyo) the *Lalita Vistara* and *Saddharma pundarika*, are the most important. The first of these contains the philosophy of the reformed Buddhism; the second, the earthly life, and the glorification of the Founder of Buddhism.

In the formation of the Mahāyāna Canon, Kanishka had the assistance of two great priests who may be considered the founders of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Nagarjuna, (Jap. Ryujyu) a native of Berar in Central India, the writer of the so-called Madhyamika Sutras, which maintain the philosophical doctrine of the *void*, a doctrine which permeates the Hannyakyo, and which is found in some Greek philosophies, but very distinctly in the *kenōma* and *plerōma* of Valentinus, Basilides and other contemporary Gnostic writers. The Hannyakyo is pantheistic, the impersonal essence from which Buddhas, gods and men alike emanate (Jap. *Shinnyo*), being a conception very much akin to that of the Gnostic *Bythos*.

Kanishka's other coadjutor was As'vagosha (Jap. Memyo), a poet and the author of a famous Sanskrit lyric, the *Buddha carita*, or life of Buddha, which is an abbreviation or condensation of the Lalita-vistara mentioned above.

Two points, connected with this period, deserve to be touched on.

Indian tradition says that Nagarjuna obtained his Mahayana during his sojourn amongst a tribe known as

the *Nāgas* or snake-men. It is perhaps only a coincidence, but it is certainly curious, that one of the most prominent, though least known, sects of Gnostics was called the *Ophite*, or Snake sect.

It is also worth remembering that St. Thomas, the Apostle of Christ, is said to have preached in India during the reign of Kanishka, and that the Apocryphal "Acts of the Blessed Thomas," says that he was martyred in a city which has been identified with Kanishka's capital, and by a prince of the name of Misdeo, who has been identified with Kanishka's grandson Vasudeva.

The whole of the Sakya era, and of the Gupta era which followed it (these two eras embracing the first three centuries of our chronology), was an age of great literary activity. The Brahmans, who had been long waiting for another innings, were stirred to activity, by leaders such as the great Sankaràchàrya, to a fresh combat with Buddhism, which, divided into the opposing schools of the Greater and Lesser Vehicles, was no longer able to withstand the attacks of its determined and persevering foes, and though in A.D. 634 a fifth council was held under a King of the name of Silàditya to settle the differences between the two great schools, the day of Buddhism was over. It was attacked by Brahmanism on the one side, by the rising vigour of Mahommedanism on the other, and it fled from the sacred soil of India to recuperate itself in Thibet, China and Japan.

The rest of Buddhist history scarcely concerns India: but it should follow as a necessary conclusion to this paper.

About the year 800 A.D a Buddhist monk of Peshawur,

Asanga by name, preached a new form of Mahāyāna, known as the Tantra Buddhism, which consisted in engrafting the local deities of Thibet on to the Buddhas, so that the former were considered to be the personifications of the latter. This *Tantra Yogacchara* Buddhism was brought over to Japan by Kōbō Daishi in the so-called Shingon sect, and, by identifying the deities of Japan with the Buddhas, was the first to make a permanent place for itself in the religious consciousness of Japan. Thus the last formed of Buddhist sects was the first to take root in Japan, and the others came in reverse order—after the Shingon, the philosophic Zen and Tendai, which based themselves on the Hannya Kyo and Hokekyo, and after these the Pure Land sects of the Jōdo, which took as the basis of their teachings the faith in the mercies of the one Buddha Amida.

At the close of the Lecture, Rev. C. F. Sweet asked Professor Lloyd how he could fix upon the year 481 B.C. as the exact date of Buddha's death? Professor Lloyd replied: "The date of the death of Buddha is fixed by the Second Council, which is known to have occurred 100 years before the invasion of Alexander."

The Chairman then spoke substantially as follows:—You certainly will not expect me to say anything new regarding the history of Buddhism which Mr. Lloyd has so clearly outlined for us. He has made us all his debtors by his very interesting lecture. When he said in advance that he feared his sketch would not be instructive, he under-estimated, I think, the part which intelligent conjecture plays in instruction. Conjectures based on the careful collation of facts by one scholar after another have filled many a gap in history and it may well

be that a trustworthy chronology of Indian Buddhism is among the possibilities of the future. If so, it will be reached through a series of conjectures each term of which will have had its value,—will have been instructive. Certainly the relation between Gnosticism and Buddhism, which Mr. Lloyd sees, is a matter of deep interest, and the points of similarity between the two systems are very striking. Incidentally Mr. Lloyd has referred to the transmission to Japan of one of the later forms of the Mahāyāna school, where it has become the doctrine of the Shingon sect. This reference suggests an important field for research lying before our door. It is no doubt true that the beginnings of Japanese Buddhism are obscure, but I think that investigations conducted under the guidance of the spirit which has opened so many closed doors in the history of other lands would yield results of great interest to the student of the history of religion all over the world. We must not forget that it is not merely the beginnings of Buddhism in Japan which should attract the student, for the growth of Buddhist thought and Buddhist institutions in Japan is not less worthy of patient, painstaking study. The literature is abundant, superabundant, indeed, after the period of planting.

To one possessed by the historic spirit so sedulously fostered in these days in our best universities, the otherwise tedious path of sifting this mass of literature will be enlivened by many glimpses of the social life of the people, which, taken together, will enable him to reconstruct the society of olden time with a completeness hardly possible now. Certainly no adequate setting forth of that old life has yet been made, and the chasm which separates it from the life of to-day is by no means appreciated

by most observers, even among those who have lived long in Japan; yet it is only those who by the constructive imagination have made the old days live again that can rightly measure the progress Japan has made and see the goal towards which her course is making.

While not strictly germane to the subject of the afternoon, before leaving the chair which you have kindly allowed me to fill for so many years, you will pardon me, I am sure, if I suggest for the benefit of the younger members of the society, two or three other fields of inquiry into which I trust they may see their way to enter.

The first is that of biography. The lives of a few of the leading men of Japan have been written, but there are many others of whom the world would like to know, especially if their lives could be shown in their natural environment. Some of the most interesting and instructive biographies will be those of men of lesser note, such for example as belonged to the little coterie of scholars of the Dutch language, in the first half of the last century, who might well be called the harbingers of the new civilisation. Here, too, the materials are abuudant. A translation of a biography with suitable annotations would have the deepest interest.

Another line of investigation might well be the dialects, especially those of Kyushu, though those of the extreme north would posses hardly less interest to the philologist.

Another still might well be some department of modern life, such, for example, as agricultural education. Perhaps no country in the world is making more strenuous, or more successful, efforts to place its agriculture on a scientific basis. Witness the two Agricultural Colleges

and the two grades of subordinate schools in, I think, every prefecture, not to speak of several schools with the specific object of training young farmers in the production of silk. Such investigations would not consist simply in the collation of the statistics published by the Department of Agriculture and Commerce; but in visiting the schools, studying their methods; observing their success in awakening an intelligent interest in practical agriculture on the part of the students; examining the attempts being made to adjust the life of the farmer to the new social conditions, etc. The problems of the Japanese small farmer are many and grave, far more so than most foreign residents dream, and whether we look at them from the point of view of philanthrophy or from that of sociology, they should possess absorbing interest.

These examples are simply illustrations of the many and varied fields which are as yet relatively unworked. There are others not less inviting. But they are not to be looked upon simply as interesting. The results are bound to be instructive and who can tell but what some of them may sway in an important degree the current of the world's thought.

The CHAIRMAN then said that he had for several years derived great pleasure from his position as President of the Society; that he desired to thank the Society for the honour and the pleasure conferred upon him by his repeated election; and that he would most cordially bespeak for his successor the same warm support and sympathy that had been extended by the Society to himself.

Professor A. LLOYD said he was sure that many others would have been better than himelf as President of the Society. But, since the Society had honoured him by

electing him President, he could only express his warm apprectiation of the honour and say that he would do all in his power to serve the Society efficiently.

On the proposal of the Chairman, every member of the Society rose to vote thanks to His Excellency Sir Claude MacDonald for his kind and pleasant entertainment of the Society.

The CHAIRMAN declared the meeting adjourned.

MEETING IN TOKYO.

Jan. 17. 1904.

A general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held at the Parish Building, No. 54 Tsukiji, on Wednesday, January 17th, at half past three o'clock The previous announcement that a lecture would be given by Rev. Ekai Kawaguchi on his "Personal Experiences among the Tibetans" had attracted a large audience. The President of the Society, Professsor A. Lloyd, occupied the Chair. He annouuced that the minutes of the last meeting had already been published, and would therefore be allowed to stand without reading. He said that it gave him very much pleasure to introduce to the andience Mr. Kawaguchi of Tibetan fame. Tibet is a country in which none of us would like to live, yet it is a country of great interest. It is much before the world to-day. Mr. Kawaguchi is so well known as an entertaining lecturer and Mr. Guy also as an able interpreter, that he might be excused for not taking any time and for introducing Mr. Kawaguchi at once.

Mr. Kwaguchi expressed great pleasure in addressing the audience. He begged to thank Mr. Gardiner, Chairman of Committee, for inviting him, and the auditors for their presence. He then delivered his lecture in Japanese, stopping at intervals for Mr. Guy to interpret it in English. From notes made on the English interpretation, the following summary has been prepared.

Mr. Kawaguchi had in mind to go to Tibet in 1893, but actually left Japan in 1897. The country which we

call Tibet is not so designated by its inhabitants. In their language, the land is called *Po-i Foi*. If asked about his nationality, a Tibetan would reply that he is a *Poi*. Two explanations are offered for this term. (1) The inhabitants of India say that it is the region whence their three or four great rivers flow down into India, giving life and prosperity. These rivers are gods, and their source must be where the gods dwell, their most sacred home—*Boda*, which is corrunted into *Poi*. (2) The Tibetans assert that their ancestors were divine people who called spirits from six different sources: from fierce beasts, beasts which eat no food, ordinary brutes, men, heaven aud hell. They were the *Poi*. The word "Tibet" is of Persian origin, meaning high land. In Japanese writing, the character means (1) West, (2) godown, (3) earth. The term Tibet or Tobet used by Japanese is an imitation of the foreign word. The name of the country known to its inhabitants is *Poi*, and concerning that country the lecture treats.

Mr. Kawaguchi left Japan in June, 1896, and went to Darjeeling, India. He had selected that place to study the Tibetan language, on account of recommendations from Indian students in Japan. At Darjeeling, he passed one and a half year studying the language. In 1899, he left Darjeeling and went to Nepaul. It would have been an easy journey to go direct to Lhassa. But, in order to avoid suspicion and discovery, he chose a circuitous route. He sought his information concerning roads from beggars. Beggars do not usually follow direct routes, and so their knowledge best served his purpose. He proceeded north-west around Manasarowar Lake. With guides and porters, he rounded this lake in fifty days and came to Lohtzalahn within fifty miles of Lhasa.

Having met soldiers here, he stopped at Rho Tsalon for one year and studied the routes. It is a roadless country. The people direct the inquirer, not by pointing out a roadway, but by saying that at a certain place a hermitage would be found. He dared not make direct inquiries, but had to proceed cautiously and piece together his information, so as not to cause suspicion and discovery. The way lay through the Himalayas. Finally he set out from Lohtzahn, and pursuing a circuitous route, arrived after fifty days at the City of Lhassa. His servants had been bothersome, and so he sent them back. Thus, carrying his 60 to 80 pounds of baggage and traversing mountains covered with snow, he entered the City of Lhasa alone.

In looking over Thibet from the mountains, Mr. Kawaguchi was much surprised by the view. He had expected to see a great plain; there stretched away a broken series of mountains and valleys. This part of the trip was made in the months of June and July—a season when the weather here is balmy or hot; yet there snow frequently fell during the night. This enables us to imagine the rigours of winter. There were many streams and rivers to cross. In the absence of bridges or ferries, the traveller could only remove his clothes and wade through the icy waters. He had many mishaps. On one occasion, he was borne away by the torrent and lodged in banks of snow and ice. His benumbed body was restored by being placed between two sheep and subjected to the influence of their warmth.

Lake Manas Narako, as is well known, is the highest in the world. In India, it is believed to be the source of four great rivers, among them being the Ganges and

the Bramaputra. But, in circumventing this lake, Mr. Kawaguchi discovered that it is not the source of any river. Near by is a second lake around which Mr. Kawaguchi passed, in order to reach the public road. This is in fact no road, no labour having ever been spent either to make or to repair it. It is merely a sort of trail from which yaks and travellers have worn the grass. At intervals of about fifty miles on this path, there are villages. Here there are houses, although ordinarily the Tibetans live in tents made of yak cloth. In this region, the air is extremely rarefied. The traveller suffers, has difficulty to breathe and even spits blood. While rounding the mountains, a great misfortune overtook Mr. Kawaguchi. Two robbers—little robbers, as big robbers would not waste time on a poor priest—set upon him and robbed him. They took his baggage, took everything, save his books and some money which was concealed inside of his clothes. Alone in the mountains, with only snow for food, drink and bed, he wandered for three days. On the third day, hungry, faint, almost blinded by the bright glare of the snow, he was found by a large Tibetan and taken to the Tibetan's tent. While resting and recuperating there, he was bitten by a dog. This new misfortune obliged him to remain there a long time to recover. Leaving this place, he was taken into the caravan of a large merchant and by an easy journey came to the village of Haruzei, whence Lhassa was easily reached. It was now July 21st, 1901. (Through error, the date is stated as March, 1900, in an article written by the lecturer for the *Century Magazine*.)

The climate is comparatively mild in central Tibet. In summer the thermometer rarely registers more than 80

degrees. There are no cold winds, such as blow in Tōkyō. On arrival in the City of Lhassa, Mr. Kawaguchi took lodging in the Sera School. Although many things might be said concerning his trip, it is most interesting to speak of Lhassa.

The architecture of Lhassa is typical of that in all Thibet. The temples are built of stone. Their roofs are flat and covered with a cement-like substance. The general form is castle-like. The houses are mostly constructed of a sort of adobe sun-dried bricks. They are lighted from above, by means of a kind of sky-light without glass. In the better homes, the ceiling is covered with a white cloth. They have no floors, natural earth serving instead. But in the corner of the room there is a carpet, where they sleep and sometimes also sit, and whither they always show guests. In material and finish, the houses are rough. Timbers and boards are not planed or polished.

The name of Lhassa signifies "Country of God." Looked at from a distance, it also may give that impression. But a single close view shows that it is a misnomer. It is in fact a very dirty place. The streets are narrow and filthy. The shops of the city are of two sorts. One kind is similar to those of Japan—a room with the side open and the wares exposed to view from the outside. The other variety consists simply of stands or places in the street, where the goods are spread out to view. The usual size of a shop is about twelve feet– twenty or twenty-five feet would be very large. In them, are sold cloth, butter, tea, flour, Chinese breads, and native products generally, also some foreign things (not specified). Some foreign food-stuffs are imported from India; but they are very

dear and only the rich can afford to buy them. Restaurants exist and in them noodles chiefly are sold. Noodles with a little meat added would be a Thibetan feast.

Most of the people in Lhassa are of course Thibetans. But there are also Nepaulese to the number of four or five hundred, about two hundred Cashmerians and many Chinese. Thibetans in many respects resemble Japanese, but in some respects they differ from Japanese. In strong contrast with Japanese are their great stature and their filthy habits. Their indifference to dirt may be indicated by saying that a Thibetan's ideals of cleanliness are the Chinese! Thibetans represent themselves as being very religious. They pretend to be devout Buddhists. If asked about their purposes or desires in life, they would reply that their one ideal and their one desire is Buddha or to realize Buddhism. For this, they work, live, steal. But this is mostly pretence. Outwardly they appear calm, mild and simple; but inside they are harsh and cruel.

Thibetan customs are many and curious. Among the most interesting of them is the marriage ceremony. In Thibet, the rule is polyandry, but polygamy is occasionally met with. For example, if there be a family of five sons, all together take one wife. The eldest is called the "father," and each of the others is called "uncle." On the other hand, if there be a family of three daughters and no sons, all three sisters take one husband. In the latter case, polygamy arises; but this is not so frequent. Marriages are arranged by an intermediary or "go-between" with the parents of the bride or brides and groom or grooms. The girl is not consulted in the matter, although she is to become the head of the new house. When the arrangements have been completed, the parents

give the girl oil and hair ornaments and let her wash her hair. At other times, the hair is not washed. In fact, there is very little washing done in Thibet. There it is considered an honour never to have washed. The parents tell the girl that she is to go to a certain place as bride. Her wishes are not consulted and she has no say in the matter. Finally, the friends of the bride and of the groom come to the bride's home and stay all night. The members of each group banter those of the other and urge them to drink. Should one drink too much and fall asleep, custom allows the other group to take from him some article to be next day ransomed by the owner. On the following day the bride bids farewell to the family gods—"the gods of happiness." She must persuade them to stay there and not to follow her. In order to convince them, she calls on them to witness the feast prepared for them. She tells them that they are surrounded with abundance and care, whereas the place to which she goes is poor and miserable. Then the bride, with the two groups of attendants, sets out for her new home—the home of the groom. If she pass through a village on the way, it is permissible for the villagers to steal the bride and require a ransom for her. This is justified on the ground that she is without gods and accompanied by demons. Her passage through the village will thus bring it ill-luck. The ransom money is required to appease the gods. When the bride arrives at her future home, the gate is closed against her. The groomsmen are now before the gate. Thus accompanied by demons, the bride cannot enter. The groomsmen are provided with a pyramid of flour encased in dough. This is thrown by one of them at the bride, and the break-

ing of it drives away the demons. If the bride's attendants catch the one who throws the magic pyramid, he is obliged to pay a penalty. The bride now asks for the gate to be opened. The request is refused until she pronounce a blessing on the gate. Then the gate is opened, all enter, and the ceremony is ended.

Among the Thibetans, there are four different forms of funeral ceremony. They arise from the Indian proverb that man comes from four elements; viz., earth, water, fire, wind. According to the first cermony, the bones are crushed, the flesh is cut in pieces the body cooked and fed to dogs, birds and eagles. According to the second ceremony, the body is burned, consumed by fire. This is not common, but is sometimes practised. In the third ceremony, the corpse is thrown into one of the great rivers, after having been decapitated and dismembered. According to the fourth form, the body is buried in the earth. This method is rarely employed—only when the other ceremonies are inconvenient.

Music and literature among Thibetans are at a very low stage. They have but a single musical instrument. It is similar to the *samisen.* Thibetans sing and dance. Dancing is done with the feet, not with the whole body. Some strike with the right, some with the left foot, and, what is peculiar, all do it precisely alike. Their songs are of two kinds. Common songs deal with love, bravery, unusual exploits. Priestly or religious songs are prayers to Buddha. Mr. Kawaguchi chanted a sample of each, and they were respectively rendered into English thus: (1) "Yara, yara," (this is only a prelude) "As the azalea blooms all over Thibet, but the red, beautiful and sweet-scented ones bloom only up on the hills, so perhaps my

lover's faith is beautiful." (2) "In my heart is prepared the lotus seat. O Buddha, the real source of Buddhahood, give me thy protection; and make me that my body, heart and mouth may perfectly perform their duties!"

Many persons ask how Mr. Kawaguchi's identity was discovered in Lhasa. It happened thus. Mr. Kawaguchi went to a certain shop to buy soap—the only shop in Lhasa where good soap could be obtained. The soap merchant looked him closely in the eye. Mr. Kawaguchi had known this man at Darjeeling. He himself had been closely shaven at Darjeeling, while at Lhassa he wore a heavy beard. But he perceived that he was probably discovered and went quickly away. Being later obliged to have more soap, he returned to the same shop. The merchant would not sell him soap, but looked him in the eye, and asked "Do you know me?" Mr. Kawaguchi could not lie, and so he replied "Yes." Thereupon, the merchant took him into the merchant's house, placed him on the highest seat, then asked his (the merchant's) wife, "Do you know this man?" After closely regarding him, the wife replied "No." This shows how perfect was the disguise penetrated by the merchant. The merchant said "This is the Japan Lama." Mr. Kawaguchi knew that it was dangerous to remain in Lhassa, if his presence was known. But the merchant promised before the Gods that he would not tell that Mr. Kawaguchi was a "Japan Lama." However, this merchant was sent to India to buy iron, and there heard that the Japanese were good and had the same religion as the Thibetans. On his return to Lhassa, this merchant, without evil intentions, told the head merchant that a "Japan Lama" was in Lhassa. Later, the head merchant, in an interview with Mr. Kawa-

guchi, said: "You are not a Thibetan, Chinaman, Indian or European; what land do you come from?" Mr. Kawaguchi had in mind to say that he was a Chinaman. But the soap merchant, who was present, forestalled him by saying that this was the "Japan Lama." The head merchant reported the fact to the brother of the Great Lama. The head merchant also wished to protect Mr. Kawaguchi. But the Dalai Lama learned that the "Japan Lama" was the Learned doctor at the Sera College of Priests, who was about to receive favours and important promotions. The facts became generally known and created an uproar in the city. Mr. Kawaguchi knew that it was dangerous to remain, and so he fled the city, May 19th, 1902. Fortunately there was then a great religions festival at Lhassa, — a fact which facilitated his escape. On leaving Lhassa Mr. Kawaguchi took the most direct route to Darjeeling, and, having passed through several perilous places arrived in July safely at Darjeeling. While there he sent back to the Dalai Lama a petition in behalf of the friends who had been kind to him at Lhassa. But news of the recent expedition to Thibet cause him to fear that he may be suspected to have been a spy and that therefore his benefactors may be questioned with exceptional severity. From the King of Nepaul, Mr. Kawaguchi received as a present forty-one bibles or sacred books. These he has lent to a school. But the many other curious objects here on view to illustrate the lecture he had brought with him from Thibet to Japan, arriving here last May.

The President of the Society said it only remained to thank Mr. Kawaguchi in behalf of all who were present for his interesting lecture, and also Mr. Guy for his

efficient interpretation. As it was very late, no time remained for formal questions, but Mr. Kawaguchi would be glad to answer privately after the meeting any questions that might be asked .The meeting was declared adjourned.

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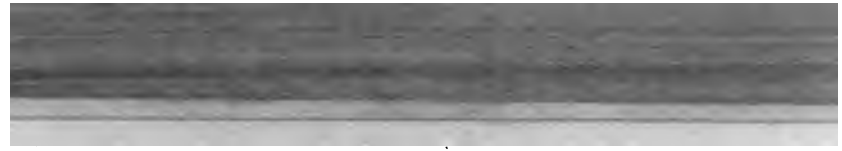
1905.



A SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF NOBORU WATANABE.

(KWAZAN)

By Miss S. Ballard.

[*Read 12 October 1904.*]

Sixty years have passed since Noboru Watanabu took his own life, being under the impression that his mere existence brought discredit upon his feudal lord. These sixty years have wrought great changes and Japan is now ready to do credit to the work done by Watanabe and his party.

In a recent political speech Marquis Ito, in referring to the opening of Japan to foreign influence, made the following remarks:

"That the Restoration should have been combined with the opening of the country and the adoption of a policy of enlightened progress was a surprise to all. This great and decisive step is due of course to the keen foresight of the enlightened Sovereign and of the statesmen who surrounded and advised him at the time.

No inconsiderable amount of credit, however, must in this respect be given to patriots and servants like Shihei Hayashi, Kwazan Watanabe, Choei Takano, Shozan Sakuma and others."

In my account of Kwazan Watanabe I have closely followed a Japanese biography, reserving any remarks of my own for foot-notes.

Noboru Watanabe, commonly known by his Nom de Plume of Kwazan, was born in 1794.

His father was a *samurai* of the Tawara clan,* a studious man, who at one time lived in Yedo studying Confucianism and supporting himself by copying Chinese classics. He had eight children, of whom Kwazan was the eldest.

From the time that Kwazan was a mere child it was predicted that he would grow famous. One day, before he was two years old, his mother was standing with him at the gate of the lord's house at Sugamo when a priest passed who had a great reputation for being able to read a person's future in his face. The mother asked him to look at Kwazan and tell her whether he would have small-pox severely or slightly.

The priest, looking at the child, said that he would have small-pox very slightly, that he would grow up to be a famous man, but would be in unfortunate circumstances; all of which predictions came true.

When he was eight years old, Kwazan was made one one of the attendants on his young lord, and from the time he was ten he began to receive a regular salary. He went to the castle morning and afternoon; one of his duties was to learn the *ono* of which his young lord was very fond.

It was when he was ten years old that there occurred an event which made a great impression on his mind. When walking along Nihonbashi, he chanced to knock against one of the attendants in a procession escorting the Lord of Bizen; for this rudeness he was so chided and humiliated that he felt he must devote his life to wiping out this indignity, which could only be done by

* The Tawara clan was ruled by the Tosa no Kami or Lord of Tosa, a title which, however, implied no connection with the place of that name.

becoming famous. In order to make a name for himself he decided to apply himself to learning and one of his father's friends, hearing of his resolution, introduced him to a teacher under whom he began regular study.

Kwazan's home was of the humblest and poorest description. His father had been ill for many years and in order to procure the necessary medicines for him everything the family possessed had gradually been sold. In the coldest night of winter they had not a *futon* to lie on nor to cover them. The mother would lie on the bare mats and taking the youngest child in her arms would try to impart to it the warmth of her own body.

In order to reduce the number of mouths to feed, one son went as a servant; another became a priest, while Kwazan devoted all his leisure to study, hoping eventually by that means to do something to help his parents. In the intervals of his attendance on his lord, Kwazan had not only to nurse his sick father, but also to help his mother in her house-hold work. Rising early in the morning to kindle the fire, he would manage to study a little by its light; indeed the sages of olden times who did their studies by the light of fire-flies or the snow, underwent no greater hardships in their pursuit of learning than did Kwazan. Even in his childhood his writing was astonishing, and he early showed his talent for painting. When he was about eight years old, a visitor came one day, who did not leave his name; Kwazan however, having seen him, was able to draw a picture which was such a correct likeness that they could tell at once who their visitor had been.

One of his father's friends told him that, considering the extreme poverty of his home, it was of no use his

thinking of becoming a great scholar it was necessary that he should apply himself to; something that would bring in money at once, and as his pictures showed great talent he had better give himself to painting. So at the age of sixteen Kwazan, receiving from his mother the modest sum of sixteen *mon* with which to buy paper, began work as an art student. He was not able however to give his whole time to it, for he had been appointed, in the same year, teacher to the Lord of Bingo.

As he grew older Kwazan felt that mere skill in painting was not enough, he wished his paintings to show culture, so he made great efforts to study Chinese classics with a teacher, but there were many obstacles in the way; during the day he had to attend on his lord and in the *daimyo's* households the rules forbidding young men to go out after dark were strict, so he was unable to go to the night school that he wished to attend. He was however undaunted in his pursuit of knowledge, and the little leisure that was left to him, when his feudal duties were over, was divided between the painting by which he contributed some money to the household support, and those Chinese classics which, to the end of his life, were such a perpetual interest to him.

He formed for himself a rule of conduct; which he pasted to the wall of his room in order that he might not forget it. Among other resolutions were the following; "To strive to keep his parents from want. To study deeply, while pursuing his painting for the relief of the family poverty. To look at no books except the Chinese classics and those on painting. To be very careful in his intercourse and, while never repulsing those who came to him, not to seek out acquaintances. (There

is a list of those whose knowledge and talents made them profitable friends).

To be simple and straight-forward in his manners; frugal in food; careful as to his actions; saving of time; sparing of words, even in the most trivial act of writing to form the characters with care, and to be clear in expression.

While his parents were alive to keep them from poverty by hard work, however much that work went against his own inclinations; to be willing even to offer up prayer to demons, if by that means he could obtain peace of mind for his parents."

In 1819 the Tawara clan was ordered by the Shogun to repair the Wadakura gate in Tokyo, which work Kwazan superintended for six years. Kwazan was very much struck by the first foreign pictures he saw and he afterwards introduced a certain amount of foreign style into his paintings. His portraits were famous. On one occasion, when he had finished a life-like portrait, the sitter wished to reward him handsomely, but he refused to take any payment. Finally, however, he asked for an ancient Chinese manuscript which he said would be of more value to him than a thousand *yen*.*

Kwazan gradually rose to posts of trust in the daimyo's household and was able to marry, but as he had to support not only his parents but also his grand parents, his circumstances were always straitend. He was noted for his filial devotion, and when his father died, he was for two days too afflicted to eat; but on the third day he rose and,

* Kwazan here showed the correct Japanese disregard for money, but one cannot help wondering how the Chinese manuscript was received by the poverty stricken family.

after partaking of some *kayū*, set to work on a portrait of his father which he hung in his room and before which he offered food, morning and night. He had his father's funeral conducted according to the Confucian rites prescribed in the Sosairei.

It was when he was over thirty that Kwazan turned his attention to Dutch learning. The students of the Dutch or Western learning were divided at that time into two parties; one, the Yama-no-te party, studied Western learning in several different branches; the Shita-machi party* devoted themselves to the study of medicine only.

Kwazan, along with Koseki, Takano Choei, and others, also formed an association called the Shoshi Kwai, (Old Men's Club) whose avowed object was the study of foreign geography and history, but they had also the secret purpose of studying with a view to improving the maritime defences of Japan, which they felt to be defective. In spite of its name, the members of the club were all young men. Though regarded with suspicion, on account of their advanced views, they yet gained confidence by the reliability of their characters, and the *daimyos* would not unfrequently submit difficult questions in politics to their consideration, and would place young men under their influence.

Kwazan, being a man of learning and position, was considered the head of the club, but having begun Western learning rather late he was only able to read the Japanese translations of the books studied. Though much taken up with Western learning, Kwazan steadily continued his study of Confucius and we find him at the age of thirty

* The names refer to different districts of Tokyo.

four still going daily to read the Confucian classics with a master.

When his Lord, the *daimyo* of Bingo, died childless, Kwazan earnestly hoped that the younger brother, Tomonobu, might be allowed to succeed him. But the house of Miyake was very poor and the retainers determined that it would be better to adopt an heir from some wealthy house in the hopes that he might bring money with him.

As an excuse for their conduct they argued that Tomonobu was too delicate to be a satisfactory head of the clan.

Kwazan thought it dreadful that one of the lineal descendants of the house should be set aside for a complete stranger and protested against these proceedings; he argued that he had never heard of a *daimyo's* house really becoming bankrupt, and that though they were poor yet, if they proceeded to economize steadily, there was no reason why they should not have Tomonobu, a son of the house, for their lord. His protests, however, were in vain, and the retainers chose a successor from the house of Sakai, who took the title of the Lord of Tosa. Though Kwazan had been opposed to his election he does not seem to have borne any ill will, for he appointed Kwazan superintendent of the household of the deposed Tomonobu.

This Lord of Tosa had a son and a daughter, and it was his intention, when they were of age, to make his son his successor and give away his daughter in marriage. When Kwazan heard of this plan he resolved to address his lord on the subject.

Sending away all the other retainers, he contrived to see his lord quite alone and told him that the setting aside of Tomonobu had been an injustice to an old

family. He then begged that this injustice might be repaired by the Lord of Tosa giving his son away and taking Tomonobu's son as successor and husband to his daughter.

Kwazan pointed out that if the Lord of Tosa did this he would please not only the retainers of the class, who would be pleased to see the original line restored, but he would also please the spirits of his ancestors. He owned that he was making a very bold suggestion and that it would be quite within reason if the Lord of Tosa ordered him to be immediately beheaded.

The Lord however received the suggestion very favourably and, thanks to Kwazan, the family of the deposed Tomonobu was finally reinstated by the carrying out of the proposed arrangement.

The history of the succession to the house of Miyake, which ruled the Tawara clan, shows how entirely different the Japanese idea of family succession is to the English. When the lord died, the elder of the clan retainers *elected* a successor. There does not appear to have been such a thing as legal right.

Kwazan was commissioned to write a history of the house of Miyake and in order to collect the necessary information he travelled about a considerable part of Japan. When he was absent on one of these journeys he received an order to return at once. A ship belonging to the Kishu clan had been shipwrecked on the Tawara coast and, the cargo having become scattered about, the farmers and fishermen had appropriated whatever they could lay hands on. The Kishu clan determined

to complain to the Shogun's court. Kwazan saw at once that such a complaint would result in great trouble for the Tawara clan, so he hurried to Tokyo and for three months he worked hard in his endeavovrs to prevent the matter coming before the Shogun. In this he was successful and the gratitude of the clan was unbounded. When he returned to Tawara the fisher people assembled at the castle to express their gratitude and to beg him to accept a sum of money. Kwazan wished to refuse the money, declaring that he had merely done his duty. It was however pressed on him and he accepted it, afterwards returning it to that district with directions that it was to be kept as a fund for use when there had been bad fishing seasons.

The years 1833 to 1839 were marked by a bad famine in Japan. Kwazan exerted himself in every way to help the distressed people; when the distress was first felt in the north he wrote to the people of Tawara urging them to be frugal and industrious. The famine gradually spread, and merchants bought up stores of rice so that the prices became exorbitant. There was great disorder in the country districts, where bands of robbers urged the people to insurrection. Kwazan was much troubled at this state of affairs and thought out a relief plan. He proposed the building of a large godown at Tawara in which the people could store rice in anticipation of the famine becoming worse. The people had implicit faith in Kwazan and they came forward eagerly to help in the work of building. The Lord of Tosa with his own hand wrote an inscription to be hung in the finished building, and the first grain stored was millet which Kwazan bought with money made by the sale of a picture.

The famine became more and more widely spread and the Lord of Tosa, wishing to commence further relief work, sent for Kwazan who was then in Tokyo.

Kwazan was too ill to travel, too ill even to write a letter, but he sent books which gave valuable information.

The retainers of the Tawara clan took up the business of the famine relief with great vigour and the rich families contributed liberally. The poor were helped with rice and the sick given medical attendance so that in the Tawara district not a single person died of starvation. The Lord of Tosa received a letter of praise from the Shogun but it was felt that the real credit was due to the foresight and prompt measures of Kwazan.

Kwazan set a noble example of frugality in his own household. During the famine he made a rule of having only two meals a day and giving the rice he thereby saved to the poor. There are many tales of his generosity to those in distress.

It was about this time that Kwazan sent a friend a composition entitled "The Mean Man" from which the following sentences are taken.

"To gain fame he will disregard truth and to obtain profit he will disregard justice. He is jealous of those who are nobler and richer than himself, those who are lowly he despises and illtreats; he makes friends only with his inferiors in intellect and tastes; he disdains to ask for information, so he remains ignorant to the end of his life. He rejoices to hear himself praised, even though he knows the praise to be exaggerated; he is astonished when he hears himself blamed, if for something he has not done, he is wroth; if for a fault, he hides it and condones his mistake. So he does not improve."

Kwazan had a collection of over five hundred books and over twenty pictures all of which he determined to present to his lord. His friends expostulated and advised him to keep some for his descendants. He replied that he "had collected these books with infinite pains and trouble, but still it was all owing to his lord's kindness that he had them at all, so that he did not look upon them as being really his own possessions and was only too glad to be able to offer them as a token of his gratitude. If any of his descendants had a taste for learning they must collect books for themselves; besides which, it was impossible to know the future of his descendants, and they might not be in a position to take proper care of his collection, so that the results of long years of labour might be lost."

The year 1818 was marked by the coming of an English merchant ship to Uraga. The Japanese Government were much annoyed that foreign ships should venture so far, and the subject of maritime defence in which Kwazan had always been interested became a burning question. Kwazan thought that inhabitants of sea-coast places should be instructed by the Government as to the shape of foreign ships and the flags of different countries so that they might be able to give the alarm when dangerous vessels appeared, and suggested that pictures should be posted up in Government offices. He also urged the Government to have spring and autumn manœuvres for the better training of of the soldiers.

The arrival of what is known in Japanese history as the "Morrison" ship caused great agitation in Japan. This ship came straight up to Tokyo bay, without calling at Nagasaki, wishing to land seven Japanese castaways

whom it had picked up. The Japanese were convinced that this was a mere pretext which covered some more serious design. The Lord of Echizen advised that the castaways should be allowed to land and that the captain should be given an audience, but the other ***daimyos*** were opposed to this. They argued that if the object of the ship had merely been the returning of the castaways, they would have gone to Nagasaki. "The English robbers," they said, "have for sometime been molesting Japan and should be punished, especially as they hold the Christian religion which is forbidden by our laws; the castaways are unfortunate but we cannot receive them, we must drive away the ship.*

This counsel prevailed.

At this time the superintendent at Uraga was a man called Torii, and the Shogun's deputy there was Ogasawara.

This Torii was extremely jealous of the position and influence of Kwazan and the other leaders of the advanced party, and had long been looking for some accusation to bring against them when the publication of Takano Choei's "Yumenomonogatari," gave him the opportunity he sought. He told the Government that he believed that the talk about the probable coming of foreign ships was merely a fiction by which the Dutch scholars were trying to agitate the people and to rouse them to sedition. He advised that the Dutch scholars should be severely reprimanded. The Government however did not then act on his suggestion.

Torii, in connection with Ogasawara, prepared a survey map for the Government, which they showed to Egawa

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* See Note on the Morrison.

one of Kwazan's followers. The map was very faulty and Egawa felt that it would be of no practical use, so he quietly sent a messenger to Kwazan saying that as the map would be used in the construction of fortifications it was of great importance that it should be correct, and begging that some one capable of such work should be sent to Uraga.

Kwazan after consulting with Takano, recommended two men, Uchida and Satomura, who went at once to Uraga and began to work at a survey map.

Ogasawara, seeing that these men were his rivals, did all he could to discredit them. Torii was persuaded to order Satomura back to Tokyo on the plea that being a Buddhist priest he could not possibly know about such work. Uchida however made a map which he submitted to the careful criticism of Kwazan and then sent in to the Government. The map prepared by Torii and Ogasawara was sent in about the same time, but there was no comparison between them, and the evident superority of Uchida's brought great credit to the Dutch scholars.

It was about this time that a party was formed to advocate Japanese emigration to some of the uninhabited islands of the Pacific. Those who interested themselves in the matter were a couple of dozen men, all of whom belonged to the party of the Dutch scholars, and who held meetings and tried to arouse an interest in the matter. Among those who occasionally attended the meetings of the Dutch scholars was a man named Hanai, one of the keepers of the Palace garden. Ogasawara, who was very anxious to recover the reputation that he had lost in the matter of the map, sent one day for Hanai and told him that it was well-known to the Government that the Dutch

scholars, under the pretext of furthering emigration, were stirring up the people and urging them to sedition. He also told Hanai that if he wished to escape the punishment that was about to fall on all connected with the Dutch scholars, he would himself go to Torii and not only implore pardon but also, as a proof of his repentance, give a full account of the proceedings of the Dutch scholars and a list of their names.

Hanai was much alarmed and resolved at once to follow this advice. He therefore drew up a document in which he gave the names of all whom he knew to be in sympathy with the Dutch scholars (the list included the houses of Shimadzu, Miyake, Matsudaira, and many others), he also stated that Kwazan and Takano were really the leaders of the party.

Torii and Ogasawara were not the only ones who were working against the Dutch scholars. A certain official named Shibukawa addressed a letter to the Government on the subject. He strongly advised that all foreign books brought into the country should be submitted to a sort of censorship. Under the present system, he said, scholars were allowed to order any books they pleased and take them to their homes, in this way pernicious reading on politics, forbidden religions, such as Christianity, and other erroneous opinions were being widely spread. The *daimyos* had encouraged their retainers not only to study Dutch but even in some cases to translate these bad books; of course it was necessary that doctors should study Dutch, but others should be forbidden to do so, as it was only curiosity and a love of novelty that led them to it. He proposed that all foreign books should be sent straight to Yedo and examined there

before being read by any one. "Neglect of this matter even for one day might lead to years of trouble."

One day in May 1839 Kwazan invited Takano to his house and told him that it was clear that trouble was in store for the Dutch scholars. He said that his pupils frequently warned him to be careful, but that he had no fears as to what might happen to himself, his only anxiety was the thought of what would become of his aged mother if he were seized by the Government. Even while he was speaking a messenger arrived bringing the expected summons to appear before the Government. Seven other members of the Dutch learning party were summoned along with him.

Police were sent to search Kwazan's house with a view to discovering writings that would compromise him. As they were not able to read what they found they bundled books, letters, compositions, all into a long box and took them to the court.

Kwazan's position being a good one (*karō*) they expected to find handsome furniture and clothes in his house, but it seemed to contain nothing but books and pictures. When asked what had happened to the furniture the weeping family showed pawn-shop tickets, to the great surprise of the police who had not conceived it possible that he should be so poor.

When the news of Kwazan's imprisonment spread abroad the Lord of Tosa and the deposed Tomonobu were much distressed and began to agitate for his release.

Kwazan had asked a friend of his, named Koseki, who knew Dutch, to translate a book on Christianity for him. He knew that it was forbidden in Japan, but he was of opinion that as Christianity was the religion of enlightened

and civilized countries it ought not to be too hastily condemned.

When Koseki heard of Kwazan's imprisonment he felt sure that it was on account of this book, and it seemed to him unfair that Kwazan only should suffer for what he also had been engaged in. He therefore resolved to give himself up to the authorities, but just as he was about to do so he was told by friends that the punishment for studying the forbidden religion was crucifixion. He felt that such a fate would bring dishonour on his ancestors, so that evening he committed suicide. The accusation against Kwazan was a double one; first, he was accused of being connected with the emigration party, which he denied; secondly, he was accused of having spoken and written disrespectfully of the Government. Passages were quoted from his writings; in one place he had said that there were many kinds of governments, some might be likened to a man who, building a high fence round his house and shutting his gate, refused to have any intercourse with his neighbours, yet this isolation would not not give him immunity from danger, if there was a fire, his house would be burnt down also. In the opinion of the examiners this was a reflection on the Shogun's Government.

In another place Kwazan had said that Chinese learning did not come up to Western learning; and in speaking of the incident of the Morrison ship he had given a description of the latter part of the Ming dynasty in China, describing how when the provinces were full of disturbances the Court was given up to poetry and music, the government officials were taken from the sons of nobles, bribery and corruption were prevalent, and Confucianism not properly valued.

All these remarks were considered to be veiled criticisms, in language that it was not becoming to use regarding the Government.

Kwazan's defence was that these passages did not occur in published books but merely in rough notes which had been written in times of excitement and then laid aside; he admitted that the language was hasty, but pleaded that no disrespect was meant, and asked that such mere jottings, which he forgot as soon as he had written them, should not be taken as expressions of his fixed opinions. In a long letter written from prison to a friend, he says that his teaching and his studies had all been undertaken with the desire of being useful to his country, but now his bright hopes and plans for future usefulness were wrecked, even if he should escape with his life he had suffered the disgrace of being bound as a prisoner and his reputation was gone; though he had sinned, he had done so unintentionally, and his mind was at rest: he left his fate to heaven's decree, his only anxiety being for his mother.

"I never forget my old mother and my fellow prisoners laugh at me because in the night I often call out her name. I not only suffer anxiety on her account but I also cause her to be anxious for me, but please tell her that though I am in prison there is no need to be anxious about me. My fellow prisoners are of a lower social position than myself so I have all my own way. From the beginning they knew who I was and called me teacher; the prison officials, too, come and consult me on matters of art; and as you have sent me money and food I suddenly find myself in luxury. Please assure my mother of this."—

Kwazan's trial was carried on by an examiner named Nakajima by whom he was "much scolded".*

When Kwazan was released after a seven Months' imprisonment the joy of his friends was unbounded. His house was besieged by messengers bearing congratulations from various daimyos, and friends coming to express their pleasure, but, though released from prison, he was by no means a free man, and he was not able to see them. His orders from the Government were to remain quietly in his house, to see no one, and to go back to Tawara as soon as possible.

He was however permitted to go by night to Sugamo to pay a farewell visit to Tomonobu. Tears were shed both by the master and his faithful retainer, for they both felt sure that they would never meet again.

Kwazan went back to Tawara where he lived a quiet life avoiding all contact with politics and devoting himself to painting and study, and the care of his aged mother.†

A letter written to his brother-in-law in the January of the following year, (the year of his death) shows the

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* "In those days the examinations were carried on by an inquisitor whose only duty it was to ascertain the whole facts of the case, either from the prisoner or the witnesses, and having done so to embody them in a clear concise statement of the case which he laid before the jadge. The latter then pronounced the verdict and sentence on the strength of this statement without himself ever having seen the prisoner."

Mr. Longford on the Criminal Code, *Trans. As. Soc.* Vol. V.

† As a young man he had made a rule to read nothing but Chinese classics and books on paintings; within a few years, however, his mind had enlarged and he had eagerly grasped every opportunity of getting an insight into Dutch learning; but after the trouble that his pursuit of modern knowledge had brought upon him, one is not surprised that he again confined himself to his Chinese classics.

spirit in which Kwazan accepted his expulsion from active life. After the new year's greetings, he says "Here we have a strong north-west wind which blows night and day and makes a perpetual rustling in the bamboo groves; there is no appearance of spring. When I lived in Tokyo the expenses there were great, so that at this time of the year I would be anxiously wondering how to meet them; and there was a continual rush of business, a fire would occur, or visitors come, or there was feudal duty to be done. Then, rising before it was light on New Year's Day, I would go all round Yedo in a *kago* paying my New Year's calls with which half the month was taken up; and, before the remnants of last year's work were disposed of, the holiday was over, and the feudal duties began again. In my house there were New Year's visitors coming and going, and time passed like a dream.

Now all is changed. The Shogun, the feudal lord, and every one else, is represented in the person of my mother, to whom my wife and I render homage. The children serve as her companions and the household are happy together. Men and women servants whom we have employed at different times come to enquire after our health, which affords us some amusement.

The sage Mōshi says that man has three joys. With the pleasures of public life I have no connection, but one of those joys is that parents, wife, children, brothers, should be in health and prosperity. Even the mighty and rich have sickness, disagreements and quarrels among parents and relations, and they long for joy in life. That a sinner like myself who has no proper place in this wide world should be allowed thus to live among a peaceful people is thanks to the clemency of the Shogun. Living

beside the mother who bore me, carrying out my filial duties, helped in this by my wife and children, I want for nothing. My family too pass their time in peace and happiness. Previously, both my mother and children were discontented, but since we came here, there is nothing of the kind, and we have entered on the New Year with harmony and joy, so please be at rest and happy about us. This is indeed thanks to the Shogun and the feudal lord. Either this year or at some other time, please go to Nikko to return thanks for me. A Happy New Year."*

The Lord of Tosa died and the son of Tomonobu (who according to Kwazan's suggestion, had been made heir) became head of the house. His succession however was not confirmed by the Shogun, and Kwazan's enemies were not slow to insinuate that this delay was owing to the disloyalty of Kwazan. They argued that the clan could hope for no favours at the hand of the Shogun while it harboured such a traitor as Kwazan.

Among Kwazan's former pupils was a man named Fukuda, the son of an inn-keeper in Kojimachi, a man of taste and refinement, who had been faithful to Kwazan in all his difficulties and frequently helped him with money.

Fukuda started the idea of forming a kind of Art Society in Tokyo, but when Kwazan's enemies heard of it they said that this was instigated by Kwazan, and was sure to bring fresh trouble on the Tawara clan.

Kwazan was much distressed when he heard this, and declared that it was terrible to him to think that he

* Kwazan asks his brother in law to go and worship at the tombs of the Shōgun's ancestors at Nikko for him, as he himself was not free to leave Tawara.

should be the means of bringing misfortune on his lord, to whose kindness he owed everything in life. The Shogun's approval of the succession did not come, Kwazan felt that his mere existence was an obstacle to the advancement of his lord, and he resolved to put an end to a life which he thought was of no further use.

On October 10th he wrote several letters of farewell and prepared to commit suicide that night; his aged mother, however, for some reason, was unable to sleep and he devoted himself to her comfort. The next afternoon as he did not appear his mother and wife went to his room in search of him. They found that he had committed suicide according to the prescribed *samurai* rules.

In his letters of farewell he said that he had not intended to do wrong, but by his indiscretions he had brought trouble on his lord and on his mother, so he died leaving a dishonoured name to posterity. To his son he wrote, "while your grandmother is alive strive to keep her happy, and be filial to her; to your unfortunate mother also be filial. Never serve a second lord, even though you should die for not doing so"—(*gashi suru tomo jikun ni tsukau bekarazu.*)

Beside the letters of farewell there was a silk roll on which Kwazan had written: "the disloyal and unfilial Noboru Watanabe as a criminal can have no monument. I write thus."

Kwazan was buried at Tawara, and, though the Tawara clan frequently asked the Government to pardon him, it was not till 1870 that a pardon was issued, after which a stone was erected on his grave. In 1891 when his admirers erected a memorial to him the Government sent a contribution of one hundred *yen*.

In reading the life of Kwazan we feel that we are a studying the ideal *samurai* of Japan. He is not the ideal knight of Tennyson "who reverenced his conscience as his King," for to Kwazan his King (represented by the Shogun's Government) was far above his conscience. If the Government condemned the Dutch learning, then it was wrong, and he was ready to speak of himself as having committed a crime in studying it, the approval or disapproval of his own conscience had nothing to do with the matter.

His whole line of thought was moulded by the Confucian classics which he was perpetually studying. At the time of his death we find something of the exaggerated sentiment to which the Japanese mind is rather prone; he describes himself as disloyal and unfilial, but we we know that he had absolutely no reason for applying these adjectives to himself; he tended his father through a long illness, and from the time when as a child he got up in the dark to light his mother's fire until the day of his death she was his daily care. The house of Miyake was poor, but it seems strange that Kwazan's father, their retainer, a man of culture and learning, should have been allowed to live in such abject poverty that his wife had not a quilt to lie on; and one cannot resist an inclination to ask what were the unspeakable benefits and favours which the Lord of Tosa bestowed on Kwazan. Without a more detailed biography it is perhaps impossible really to answer the question, but it would appear that his often expressed gratitude was the result of the state of mind inculcated by Confucianism rather than the result of personal kindness received.

This makes Kwazan's conduct all the more remarkable

and one cannot sufficiently admire the self abnegation of man who could thus lay down his life for his feudal lord.

NOTE ON THE MORRISON.

The Morrison which sailed from Singapore was an American ship.

She anchored in the bay of Yedo but was driven off the next morning by the guns of a battery that had been thrown up during the night. The Morrison then sailed to Kagoshima where she met with a similar reception, so she returned to Singapore.

It is certain that one object of the expedition was the return to their own conntry of some Japanese; the Government believed the real purpose to be trade, but there seems to have been also a missionary element in the enterprise, of which the Japanese knew nothing. There was an American missionary on the ship, named Parker, who published a book entitled. "Journal of an expedition from Singapore to Japan by P. Parker, medical missionary from the American Missionary Board, London, 1838."

In the title page the expedition is described as "an attempt with the aid of natives educated in England to create an opening for missionary labour in Japan. Not having seen the book one has no right to criticize its statements, but one cannot help a feeling of wonder at hearing of Japanese who had been educated in England previous to 1837. These details are taken from a Hakluyt Society's transaction.

DAZAI JUN ON BUBI OR PREPARATION FOR WAR.

TRANSLATED BY R. J. KIRBY.

[*Read 14 December, 1904.*]

I must make many apologies for this paper. It seemed very interesting to me when read in the original. But Dazai, the writer, does not lend himself to translation. In the first place, he is full of repetitions, and in the second, he makes references to Chinese history and customs, and to old Japanese customs, about which I, at least, know very little. Then the names of the different ranks of Chinese and Japanese officials of bye-gone days, when translated, give very little insight into what these offices really were. The word I have translated throughout this essay as China really means Foreign Country. But as Dazai means the different parts of what we now call China I have thought it best to translate it thus. The names of the different kingdoms of olden China are most difficult to interpret. For Chinese names I have adopted Chinese renderings of the Chinese characters, and for Japanese the Japanese renderings.

I have translated 侯 Ko as *Daimyo* throughout the essay when referring to Japanese Ko. This is the modern reading, but you will notice Dazai explains what a *Daimyo* really is. I have tried to use as many of Dazai's words as I possibly could and yet make myself understood. The result is far from happy when looked at from the point of view of the English, but if I have thrown some new light on what the state of

Japan's military position was for 200 years before the Restoration, I shall feel that my translation has accomplished something.

Dazai, who wrote over two hundred years ago, made it the aim of his writings to show up the weakness of the Tokugawa government, and he therefore upheld everything Chinese and connected with the Mikado. He denounced Buddhism and upheld what we call Shintoism. He was therefore one of those who, two hundred years ago, worked towards making the Restoration possible.

BUBI 備武 PREPARATION FOR WAR.

The meaning of the characters Bu and Bi is, to be prepared for war. The character 備 Bi means to be warned and in readiness before an event takes place. The Japanese meaning of the character Bi is *Sonoru*, which means to be prepared both in mind and body in such a way that when danger has to be faced defeat shall not result from unreadiness. Take, for example, the fact that water is commonly kept as a precaution against fire and this will illustrate what is implied by this character. It is said that the ancient kings placed learning on their right hand and the art of war on their left. Wisdom and the art of war are like two wheels of a chariot, neither of which can be dispensed with; for to discard one would be to destroy the use of the other. In times of great peace wisdom is shown in remembering the arts of war. The character 武 Bu, which stands for war, is said in the Saden to be composed of two characters 止 Shi, to stop, and 戈 Kwa, a

spear, the joint meaning of which is to prevent the movement of 干 Kan, shields, and Kwa, 戈 spears, (or in plain English, prevent war.) To employ troops for the purpose of fighting, to defeat armies, to besiege castles, to capture territory and so forth is not the art of war. The true art of war is to govern one's country carefully, to keep it from invasion by neighbouring foes, to send troops to put down what revolts there may be in adjoining countries, to show the adjacent nations the light of one's fearfulness in war, so as to prevent hostile incursions, and to awake fear in the hearts of men.

The people of a warlike country in times of hostilities learn, and need not therefore be taught war. Though they do not study it they acquire the knowledge. They are prepared for any sudden emergency. During long and lasting peace the people within the four seas feel secure and rejoice, putting their swords into boxes and their bows into bags. High and low, the people live in ease and profligacy, falling into pleasure's rut, given to sport, and forgetting all about war.

It is written in the 法馬司 Shibaho, "Though a country be great, if the people love war it is sure to be in danger." These are very true sayings.

In China during the Three Dynasties, the government was by wise Kings. In the Second Dynasty there was rebellion against the King's orders and also trouble on the frontiers, and the Emperor sent a General and troops to quell these troubles. Subsequent generations saw signs of misrule in these acts, but this was not so; it was rather the deep scheme of a wise man. All people have their external or internal trouble, but with the Sages it was not so: all on a lower plane than a

Sage must have either external or internal trouble. This is because they do not fear. If a man has external trouble he becomes afraid and takes great care of his internals and saves them. This reasoning is found in the Saden. For example, a man free from sickness takes no care of his health and then he becomes seriously ill, and dies while yet young. A man with a little illness takes great care of his body, and therefore has no serious illness and lives to an old age. The Sages understood this and left a little external trouble in different places so as to cause future lords and retainers not to forget rebellion, and to understand and prepare for war. To govern the world well it is necessary for it to be, as it were, like a great sea which has no wind or waves and by which it is known that a storm is near. For one governing a country ought not for a day to forget the art of war.

The pivot of Military Preparation is the arrangement of 卒 Sotsu and 伍 Go. The rules of war in China say that five men make a Go and ten men a 什 Jiu. Five Go make a 兩 Ryo, a Ryo is twenty five men; four Ryo make a Sotsu, a Sotsu is 100 men; five Sotsu make a 旅 Rio, a Rio is 500 men; five Rio make a 師 Shi, a Shi is 2500 men; five Shi make a 軍 Gun, a Gun is 12,500 men. The Go, Jiu, Ryo, and Sotsu, each have a chief. The Go are what we new cail 與人五 Gonin gumi, Bands of Five. The chiefs of the Go, Jiu, and Ryo are what we now call 與頭 Kumigashira, Captains. That is to say they are the senior men chosen from their fellows. The chiefs of the Sotsu and upward are similar to what are now called 頭者 Monogashira, Captains. In the Sosho these are called 長夫千 Senpucho, Chiefs of Thousands, and 長夫百 Hyakupucho, Chiefs of Hundreds. The

heads of the Rio and upward are called 帥將 Shosui, Generals.

In ancient times it was said that the 兵 Hei, soldiers, lived with the 農 No, farmers. The farmer and the soldier were not distinct. As the soldiers came from the farmers the arrangement of the Sotsu and Go was the same as the rule of the 伍鄰 Ringo, neighbouring fives. For explanation with regard to the neighbouring fives, see the articles on Food and Riches. The military Sotsu and Go are not formed during war and are not raised suddenly during hostilities. The arrangement is permanent and always ready.

In the law of 井 Sei, wells and 田 Den, fields, five houses are one neighbourhood. This is an arrangement of houses east, west, south, and north, with one house in the centre. But they are not necessarily so arranged in reality. The houses of the people are actually arranged lengthwise and crosswise on no settled system, only that it takes a collection of five houses to make a neighbouring five.

The residents of the neighbouring fives are there from their birth until they die, living usually in friendly relationship. They go and come, day and night to each others' houses, eating and drinking together, so that they become known each to the other better than do relations separated by a distance. In the military fives they are never separated in the army. Seeing one of their group from behind they recognize who it is, and on a dark night can tell a person by his voice. In the hour of battle they mutually help each other in a way not seen elsewhere. Should one of the five be seen in danger of death in battle and not be saved, the other four are sentenced to be beheaded. If one surrender to the enemy the other

four are guilty of the same crime, therefore they always work together so as not to suffer defeat. For this reason when 仲管 Kanchung governed the country of 齊 Ts'i* he arranged his men in Sotsu and Go, and kept them in one place. In forming the ranks the men were always given the same positions in the Go and Jiu, so that so and so knew he was in front of so and so, and so and so behind so and so, and so and so was to the left or right of so and so. They thus knew their places when arranged in single, double or treble lines, crosswise, 行雁 Ganko, goose lines (cross line?), 鱗魚 Giorin, fishes' scales (open order,) 翼鶴 Kaku yoku, stork wings (curved lines?), and they were taught when thus arranged where to stand. And thus when any event happened, and upon seeing the single movement of a flag or hearing the note from the drum, they could run into the position designed for them, and without one word being uttered they could obey the command of the 帥將 Shosui, General. Such men are called trained troops. Unless this were so there could be no war based upon law. Even a small body of 300 or 500 men is of no use without law: how much more then does this apply to the handling of a large body of several ten thousands? In China, in military matters, law is of the very first importance. Should one of the ranks of Go break this law and confuse the ranks it is punished, so the 卒士 Shisotsu, officers and men, all carefully guard the law, But the base of the law are the Go and Jiu. Unless the law of the Fives and Tens is strictly adhered to war is not possible. With our Japanese 士 samurai there is no

* An important feudal Kingdom which existed 900 years, down to 224 B.C. and comprising a large portion of Northern Shangtung and Southern Chili. Vide Williams.

law of fives. In the 徒卒 Sotsuto we have fives, but they are only single bands of fives, and usually there is no law of rank of fives. Should rank be formed it would only be in the face of some emergency and then the officer in charge, on the spur of the moment, would order and point out to one by one, that so and so should be next to so and so. This grouping means a rabble. This arrangement might meet the requirements of a small affair, but is not at all enough where large bodies of men have to be moved. And when 陣軍 Gunjin, actual war, happens, what would result but disorder? This results from the lack of the law of fives.

For the preparation of war we know we have the 徒卒 Sotsuto. Sotsu is the same as the present 輕足 Ashigaru, (lowest but one rank of samurai), and To, is the same as the 間中 Chugen (lowest rank of samurai.)

The first need of war preparation is to train the samurai and soldiers. After the Sotsu and Go have been formed, then according to an ancient law, the samurai and soldiers ought to receive daily training. The meaning of 練訓 Kunren, training, is Kun, to explain, and Ren, to prepare. In training samurai and soldiers they must first learn the ranks, then learn to stand up, advance and retreat. To learn the ranks is, as mentioned before, to form into fives, and to know the right, left, front and back of the ranks. Both samurai and soldiers must each know and remember their own standing place, and in the daytime on seeing the movements of the flag, and at night-time on hearing the tones of the drum, they must obey the orders of the general, and form straight, cross, round, square, wide, narrow, great, small, long, short, direct, and slanting formation at once, as already pre-arranged, without a word

being said. They must move in a free and easy way as the limbs of the body move. In learning to sit, stand up, advance, and retreat, it is meant that in sitting they are to kneel on the ground, in standing to stand upright, and in advancing to go forward, and in retreating to go back. The art of 退進 Shintai, advance and retreat, is what the common people now call Kakehiki, bargaining. The law of war is advancing and retreating, sitting and standing. This, again, is that in accordance with the signs of the flag and the tones of the drum, the men of a regiment all move in unison, and sit, stand, advance or retreat as if they were one man's body, thus learning to do just as the commander wishes. This kind of training is acquired by the general taking the soldiers under his command to practice numerous times upon a flat moor or wild field. It is only by repeated teachings that they become trained so as to do these things naturally. In battle, no matter how strong the individual warrior is, he alone cannot conquer the enemy. By combining the strength of several hundreds, thousands, or tens of thousands, into one whole who have been trained so that they will not disorder the ranks of five, and act without losing the periods of advance and retreat, and who can all fight together, can be defeated an enemy even of superior numbers. Thus it is that 羽項 Hiang-yu of 楚 Ch'u* said "The teaching of fencing is only of use against a single foe and it is useless to teach it. The path of the general is 10,000 enemies. For 10,000 enemies it is necessary to know how to handle 10,000 men. Because Hiang-yu knew this he conquered the world. Now there is a great peace,

* A large feudal state existing B.C. 740 to 330.

and if training for war is to be undertaken, then we must abolish one enemy and prepare for 10,000.

In the 華中 Middle Kingdom, (China), the reason given by the former king for hunting during the four seasons, was to prevent damage by bird and beast to the people's fields. He chose the times when the farmers were at leisure. It was not his chief aim to take beasts and birds, but through this means to teach war. Without such methods it would have been impossible to take large armies into the country and teach them how to advance and retreat in ranks, and try the courage of the samurai and soldiers. By calling it hunting, a large number of people was assembled and they were taught about war.

Since the time of 漢 Kan, there were 職武 Bushoku, officers of war who were called 軍將 Shogun, Generalissimo, just as we now have in the Capital the 頭番 Bangashira of the 番大 Ōban, and 番院書 Shoinban of the 書院 Inban, etc.

This Shogun carefully trained the samurai and soldiers under his banner. The samurai and soldiers while being trained donned armour and carried arms, planted their banners, and sounded the drum, just the same as in actual war. The soldiers and horses were imbued with the spirit of the camp, and paid attention to soldiering. The men wore their armour as though they thought it were ordinary clothing. Horses seeing men in armour treated them as if they were clothed in the usual way. Thus, should any unforeseen circumstance happen, they could, without any excitement, cope with it. This all belongs to the law left in the old military teachings of the 王先 Sennō.

The common people of Japan think that Japan is war-

like, making war its first aim, and that China is a country where learning is placed first, and that the laws of war there are crude and the soldiers weak. This is foolish ignorance. Japan does not separate militarism from learning, all samurai being military samurai, but the teachings in war are very crude. In China, militarism and learning are separated. The learned samurai aim first at the way of learning, and the military samurai at that of war, and thus the country is governed. The result is that in China the military samurai are much more advanced in military learning than the Japanese military samurai, because they make military studies their chief work. When Toyotomi invaded Korea he sent several ten thousands of troops under Konishi Yukinaga, Katō Kiyomasa and other generals, and they advanced to Heijo (Ping Yang). When Korea was already in danger the Koreans sent to Ming (China) and begged for assistance. At this time Ming was enjoying a long peace. It was the era of Enlightenment, and there were no soldiers available, save those used for guarding the border strongholds. On hearing of Korea's trouble they sent the reliefs returning from the fortresses on the northern frontiers, to rescue them. The Japanese Generals, samurai, and soldiers, were those who had been brought up in a rebellious time and were brave and crafty men similar to tigers and bears, but on fighting with the soldiers of Ming, who had come to the rescue of the Koreans, they were defeated. This is a testimony in quite modern times. By this we can know that the people of the Middle Kingdom are ready in military preparations and their samurai and soldiers trained. In our country there are laws issued for military preparations, and though these preparations ought not to

be neglected, the weapons are only such in name and are of no practical use. In acquiring military arts our people are only instructed to learn how to fight a single enemy, and as to men with a knowledge of the laws of tactics there are none made use of. Those having the office of generals are simply the heirs of nobles who have from one generation to another been in receipt of official salaries, and who know nothing about handling the large bodies of men under their command.

The officials only learn the art of handling bows, horses and sporting guns, but as to the training of troops it is all neglected. Amongst the ministers and great men there are none who advise the Government. This is a great mistake.

Our 頭番大 Chiefs of Castle Garrisons, and 頭番院書 Chiefs of the Palace Drawing Room Guards, are about the same as the 官軍將 Generals of China. Our Chiefs of fifty guards are about the same as the Chinese 郎林羽 Urinro, Portion of Imperial Guard, and 郎騎, Mounted Horsemen. Our 力與 patrols are the same as Chinese 士吏 Official Samurai, and our 心同 Police the same as the Chinese 步卒 Infantry, and he who leads these is called a 軍將 General. His rank is the fifth and over. His vice is called 將裨 Hisho, Assistant General, or 尉校 Koi, Officer, with a rank of the fifth class or lower. Our present 頭與 Head of Bands agrees with this.

As already stated the higher officers of China led those under their banners outside of the cities for training in the ranks, and trained them unceasingly every day, in advancing and retreating. Should they fail to train and become careless, they were punished. Every man is therefore careful not to forget his duty. Here we see

the difference in Military Preparation between this country and China.

Part of the Chinese military preparations is the choosing of chariots and men, and examining them for war. This is done under the name of hunting, or, in other words, what we have already referred to under the term of assembling. By choosing chariots is meant the choice of war chariots, and by choosing men the choosing of soldiers is meant. In ancient times there were chariot battles, so chariots were of the utmost importance in military matters. In assemblies, those who were entitled to it, rode in chariots. When the infantry marched out of a city the commander examined all the chariots, horses, and military weapons to see whether they were in good condition or not, and the infantry, to see whether they were strong on foot. In examining for actual war, the horses, chariots, and military machines, and in fact everything used in war, were all taken out and examined, to find whether they were complete in equipment, as called for by law. As Military Preparation is one of the most important duties of the state, military men ought to be fully prepared at all times. In times of continued peace, when there is no war, military machines become defective, and repairs are neglected, and the proper number of men and horses, for military purposes, falls short. It is usual to think that when occasion occurs there will be time to get ready, and in times of peace men pass their days in eating and drinking. But the ancients planning to obviate this state of affairs arranged to have these assemblies without fail. This is most important for Military Preparation.

In Japan, because there has been continued peace for

one hundred years, military matters have been neglected and officers have become extravagant, so those even with salaries have become poor and pawned their armour, and, thinking other weapons useless, many have sold and parted with them, and this applies of course much more to the small officers. Even Daimyo having in their care one or half a 群 Gun, Province, do not provide for their military officers and men, and all throughout the country the number of horses has fallen off, and military affairs are carelessly administered. Wise men do not forget that during peaceful government trouble may occur, and that military preparations must be made, and the defence of the country not slackened.

Therefore even now, the old law of choosing chariots and men and the examination of the necessities of war should be put unexpectedly into effect and it should be found out whether the number of horses, soldiers and weapons in the possession of the Daimyo, Great Men, and Officers, exist or not, and reward or punishment meted out as the result. Then the officers and those above them would cease being given to extravagance and give their whole hearts to military matters.

The officers of these times never once in a lifetime don their armour at all; they would not therefore know how to wear it, should necessity arise. They do not know how to move when clad in armour. Even to be clothed in ordinary clothing and court dress interferes with the free movement of the body, and how much more so is this with stiff and heavy armour, which, if one is unaccustomed to it, will cause inconvenience when suddenly worn. If horses see or hear anything out of the ordinary they are easily startled, and they will not let

a rider mount. Horses therefore should be accustomed to the look of armour and to the sound of conch shells and fowling pieces. The officers of China, when out for military practice are accustomed to wear armour and they think of it as if it were ordinary clothing. If Military Preparations are now to be instituted (in Japan) armour ought to be worn, and practice made in matters pertaining to war. This is according to the military advice left by the ancients.

In the ancient times of the Former Kings, troops were lodged in farms, and the saying was that the troops were procured from the farms. In the Han dynasty 國充趙 Chau ch'ung-kwo made the law for the militia that the guards of the frontier should work in the fields, and as they could be used as soldiers in case of need, they were called 田屯 Tonden, militia. This law was first instituted by Ch'ung-kwo and it was found so beneficial that it has been largely followed in later times. The 衆人千子王八 Hachioji Senninshu, Hachioji Multitude of a Thousand, of the present day, is somewhat similar to this practice. The separating of the people from soldiers was first made in the 唐 T'ang* dynasty and it has been kept up in later times. In the Ming dynasty the people of the earth were divided into two bodies. Those who made 農 Nō, agriculture, their occupation were called 民 Tami, People, and those who made 兵 Hei, soldiering, their occupation were called 軍 Gun, Military. The people were not allowed to change to the military, nor were the military allowed to change to the people. This was in the Ming dynasty and it had not been so before. The position of a country is determined

* A famous dynasty which ruled China from A.D. 618 to 918, vide Williams.

by its 賦兵 Heifu, soldier service. This was the law of the Sages. Military Service means 役軍 Gunyaku, Military Army Work. The meaning of 賦 Service, is the number of men and horses supplied by a given number of rich fields.

In the laws of the 周 Chen* dynasty the domain of the 子天 Tenshi, Emperor, was called 乘萬 Banjo, 10,000 mounts, and the different 侯諸 Shoko, Princes, 1000 mounts, and the chariot was called houses of 夫大 Taifu, the Great Men, 100 mounts. One chariot was called a mount, therefore 1000 or 1000, mounts refers to the number of chariots supplied by any place. In time of war expeditions the Emperor supplied six armies, the princes each three. These were composed so that to every chariot there were three officers in armour and seventy two foot soldiers, and twenty five men for transport, making in all one hundred men. Four horses pulled the chariot and twelve head of cattle pulled the transport. The 重輜 Shicho, transport, is the same as the Japanese pack horse. In other words one army was composed of 12,500 men. Of the 100 men with each rider, 25 were for transport and were not for fighting. Deducting these, there were three knights in armour and seventy two foot soldiers, making in all seventy five men to the mount. Thus with 100 mounts there were 7,500 men, and for 1,000 mounts 75,000 and for 10,000, 750,000 men. 750,000 men composed sixty armies and 75,000 men six armies. The military service of the Emperor was to supply from the one thousand 里 li in his vicinity sixty armies. In time of war one tenth. that is to say six armies, was supplied. The military service of the Princes 侯 was to furnish from their countries of 100 *li*, six

* The famous feudal dynasty of Chen which lasted from B.C. 1022 to 255, under 34 sovereigns: it was so called because the Emperor's power cached everywhere. Williams.

armies each, but of these, half were for immediate service, half remaining in the country to guard it, therefore only three armies were supplied for war expeditions.

We read in the 語論 Rongo, that Duke Ching of Ts'i had 1000 span of horses. This means horses for 1000 chariots. Four horses go to a 匹馬 Bahitsu span, 1000 span means the large number of 4000 horses. T'si was a great country, so they may have had that number. But 魯 Lu was a small country, yet in Duke Chao's time we read in the 傳左 Saden that 1000 riders were assembled for hunting at Hung. The Rongo is a trustworthy book and the Saden is a diary of facts. Neither of them would be guilty of falsehood.

In Japan, no matter how great a Daimyo is his province could not be expected to supply as many as 4000 horses. By this means we know the immense number of horses which exist in China. Men and horses naturally increase. If there were so many 2000 years ago, we know the present number must be very large.

Though Japan has from ancient time, after the manner of T'ang, divided the people from the soldiers, the samurai of those days differed from those of the present time. They lived in the country and worked at agriculture. something like the rich farmers of the present times. People of those days called men Daimyo when they owned large fields in their own provinces. Those who, owning large fields, were rich and reared many servants and retainers, were called *daimyo*. The present fashion of calling 侯 Princes who govern the different provinces *daimyo* is a popular error. At the end of the Kamakura era between the years Genkyo and Kenbu, Ashikaga, Nitta, etc., known as 家武 Military Houses, were of the

same class as *daimyo.* Therefore as at that time all men known as farmers acted as soldiers, the number of men who turned out was very large.

Since modern times (relatively) when Japan became a warlike country, and up to the present times, the military houses and farmers have been separated from each other. Farmers do not serve in the army, only a few as coolies; therefore the number of soldiers now is very small. To speak plainly with regard to the present military knights there is practically no difference between one who receives an income of one hundred *koku* and one who receives five to six hundred *koku.* They each go out with a horse and a spear and possibly followed by one or two young men. These young men cannot be included in the ranks but only placed with the 兵雑 Zohyo,* mixed soldiers. When a knight in receipt of one thousand *koku* income, is followed by even one mounted knight he is considered a very good example of what a knight should be. By using this basis for computation we can form an estimate of the number of men available, from the amount of income paid to the military houses. It will be seen that by this means it is impossible to get such a number of men now as was obtained in ancient times. If we require the number the ancients had, we must get them from amongst the farmers. For instance, if we took the revenue obtained from the farm lands, as a means of estimating the number of men available for service, though the number of farmers and horses may differ in the east and west provinces according to the richness or poorness of the soil, it may be taken that even from poor soil, ten

* Evidently a kind of fighting transport.

koku are obtained from one 町 Cho. Of this four *koku* or ten bags are paid as taxes, and about six *koku* remain as the income of the farmer. He is called a ten *koku* farmer. A ten *koku* farmer keeps one horse or a cow. In the eastern provinces it is a horse and in the west a cow. A thirty or forty *koku* farmer has four or five servants, and it would not be difficult for a fifty *koku* farmer to don armour, mount a horse and carry a spear; for one of even one hundred *koku* ought to be able to clothe one or two of his body servants in armour and have them serve in the ranks. Thus a one hundred *koku* knight should supply two mounted retainers, making with himself three in all. A salary of one hundred *koku* should find three mounted soldiers, one of five hundred, fifteen, a thousand, thirty, and ten thousand, three hundred men. This is taking into account only where the ground is poor, but where the ground is good the number should not stand at this, even twenty or thirty *koku* farmers ought to be responsible for one horseman, and rich people should furnish about ten horsemen from each house. If troops are raised according to the ancient law from the farmers, then the number of soldiers immediately available would be, one cannot tell how many times, more than the present state system. But this idea is not adopted and troops are not raised from the farmers. The present soldiers are only military knights, and one hundred *koku* or five hundred *koku* means but one mounted knight. These high-salaried knights are of no use for war. They keep a number of retainers, but these retainers, especially now, are of no use, as according to military law, 間中 Chugen and 黨若 Wakato retainers are not admitted into the ranks: they

are called mixed soldiers and are only allowed to stand behind, and are of no use in war. It is of no use having a number of them.

Leaving the Laws of the Chinese Military Service, for the present, and inquiring into ancient Japanese customs, we find they were quite different form those of the present times. According to Nature's law the number of horses and men must be much greater than in former times, but it is a sad state as the number of soldiers has much decreased. There must be some reason. If Military Preparations are to be revised this must be considered.

In China before the Three Dynasties (Hia, Shang, and Chen) the fighting was chariot fighting. After 秦 Tsin, 221 B.C. and 漢 Han, 206, B.C. to 220 A.D., it became cavalry fighting, and no change has been made down to present times. From ancient times in Japan we have had cavalry fighting, but of late years this has been abolished and infantry fighting has been substituted. Chariot fighting means having horses, and cavalry fighting means having horses too. As in war-time horses are of the utmost importance, the officer in charge of troops is called 馬司 Shiba, Head of the Horses. The rules of chariot fighting have not been transmitted down to these times, because in late years it was vanquished by cavalry fighting. In Japan in modern times cavalry fighting has been abolished and horses are only used on the road. In ancient days it was "Bows and Horses" because bows and horses were of the utmost importance in battle. But as in modern times horses are no longer used in battles, the true meaning of these words as used in the war law has been lost. From now on anyone having Military Preparation at heart ought to study the laws of cavalry, and train

soldiers and horses well. And in the day of battle if the enemy has only infantry in his ranks, the side with fifty or one hundred cavalry, grasping their spears and having their horses galloping neck and neck can at once break an enemy of even double its number. One can easily understand that the force of the galloping horses makes it impossible for an enemy's infantry, even when double the number, to withstand its charge. Therefore there is nothing more important in future Military Preparation than that infantry fighting be reduced and cavalry fighting learned. In the laws of cavalry there is a difference in training for peace and war. There are two ways and they differ. The rules of the present day for rearing horses and riding are only of use in times of peace, and are only for appearance' sake. They are useless for both man and beast in time of war.

It is hard to say what were the customs of the early Japanese knights. During the middle ages the knights were all farmers, just the same as the present mounted knights, living ordinarily in their native villages and towns, working on farms. The rich learning the art of horse riding and bows, going hunting for birds and animals in the mountains and fields and catching tortoises and fish in the rivers and marches, or galloping horses, or swimming, and crossing steep mountains, became inured to hardship, hardening their muscles and becoming strong walkers. Poor people usually task their bodies very hard in tilling the ground, enduring cold and heat in their work: they are theretore able to withstand any amount of discomfort. This is the custom of that period. Originally the work of a knight was humble, therefore his hands and feet were horny and tough, even

allowing the skin to be torn. They esteemed strong bones and muscles for walking. The military knights of the present era all assemble at the capital, aud have done so for generations, because of the salaries they inherit. They have gradually forgotten their origin, and their minds, bodies, and customs are just the same as the 家公 Kuge and 蔭上 Joro, female Court attendants, and but one man in several thousands of their number is likely to have any military value. This is not only the result of a lengthy peace, but because of city life.

According to what some people say, there are in the province of Satsuma forty-eight frontier castles. In the smallest of them there are from two hundred to three hundred military knights and the largest have seven to eight hundred per castle, or, for the forty eight castles, more than about twenty thousand military knights. They are all 士鄉 village knights, and their time is usually occupied in agriculture. Again in Tosa the remnants of the Choso Kabe clan now exist as village knights to the number of three hundred. These are commonly called 領一足具 the Single Suit of Armour. These observe the old customs of the ancient military knights. The Hachi-oji Sennin Shu of the present day live in the country and till the land. When on military duty they carry long spears and are similar to the knights of old who lodged amongst the fields. Though the Hachioji Senninshu receive but very little pay, as they live in the country, and work as farmers, they are not badly off, and can easily keep their parents, wives and children. The 心同 retainers, who live in the city, have no other source of livelihood but their pay, and living in a gay place, they are extravagant in their mode of life. They become idle

and devote themselves to pleasure, and many of them cannot keep their parents, wives and children. The hands and feet of fellows of this description become soft, and they cannot stand work. They lose the true spirit of the military knights and are of no account in war. If it is intended to reform the state and guard it with soldiers, the different knights 本旗 under the flag must all be caused to live twenty *ri* in the country, and take turns, at regular intervals, as guard knights and soldiers, to live from thirty to fifty days in the Eastern Capital. For the rest of the time they must work as farmers and learn the bow, horse, and art of war; shooting and fishing as amusement. If they followed the customs of the village knights, in three to five years their muscles and bones would become hard and they would be strong walkers, losing their Kuge and womanlike customs and becoming true military knights. If they change thus, even if the military art they learn is crude, they would be much better than the military knights of to-day who have learnt the military art. This is the way to return to the old 道武 Military Teaching. And there is no better way to help the poor military men of to-day. Manufactures are a country's riches. Since ancient times those governing the matters of state have considered it a duty to encourage manufactures. In military preparation out of all the manufactures it has been considered necessary to foster a large number of makers of military weapons. When war breaks out, the roads to neighbouring conntries are closed and we are not at liberty to obtain manufactures. We must repair our weapons of war, build castles, inclosures, carts and ships, repair armour and sharpen war swords. These are things that ordinary men usually cannot do.

Then must we have artizans of all kinds. The country that does not foster these cannot be anything in war. This is one of the things relating to Military Preparation.

Now of the different *daimyo* there are some we hear who foster manufactures. All ought to do this.

As has been mentioned in the former article on official work, if the work of the different officials is not specialized government is impossible. Especially if military matters are not looked after, the laws cannot be preserved. Leaving on one side the details of the numerous official duties, the literary and military officials ought to be distinctly separated. Of the different officers of to-day, from the 頭番大, Obangashira, to the bows, horses and guns, those having charge of the different military weapons are performing military duties. These different offices ought all to be under one in the Government with some one to assist him. Everything pertaining to military matters ought to be in the hands of these two men. These would be the equivalent of the 馬司大 Great Chief of the Horse, and 馬司小 Small Chief of the Horse. If arranged thus, then all of the laws would be one, and military preparation would be complete. The man given the position of Great Chief of the Horse must be one well versed in military learning and suitable for a General and one fond of military matters. Even in the different *daimyo's* provinces one of the officials ought to be chosen to make militarism his chief duty. All military matters ought to be in his charge and he should do nothing else. If the country's military matters were attended to, Military Preparation would be accomplished and military work would be carried out. But at present we cannot say our country is in a state of Military Preparedness.

貢子 Tsz Kung asked about Government, and Confucius in replying said, "There must be ample food and soldiers." A country is guarded by the military, therefore it is imperative that the government see there is no lack of soldiers. But without food troops cannot be maintained. This places food as the source of soldiers. Therefore the Government must be for Food and Riches, and the country enriched : this is essential in Military Preparation. This is a most important factor in Political Economy.

MINUTES OF MEETINGS.

General Meeting, March 17th, 1905.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society was held at the Parish Building, 54 Tsukiji, on Thursday, March 17th at 4 p m.

The President, Professor A. Lloyd, announced that, as the Minutes of the last meeting had been already published in the Transactions of the Society, they would be allowed to stand as printed. He therefore at once introduced the lecturer, Professor Frederick Starr, Ph.D. of Chicago University.

Professor Starr gave an exceptionally interesting lecture on the *Aztecs*. He said that probably most of us had learned about the Aztecs from Prescott's interesting account of them. But that work gives rise to four great errors, viz. 1. That the Aztecs controlled the whole of Mexico, whereas they were only *one* of about one hundred and fifty tribes inhabiting Mexican territory. 2. That the Aztecs were far advanced in culture and civilisation, whereas they lacked three most important attributes of what we call civilisation: viz., agricultural animals, knowledge of writing, knowledge of smelting iron. 4. That the Aztecs are extinct, whereas they are probably as numerous to-day as ever they were in the past.

Professor Starr then gave a fascinating description of the mode of life, the garb, the customs, the agricultural and artisan processes—especially in stone-work, feather-work and gold-work—among the Aztecs. He explained their religious beliefs and practices, their mode of treating and sacrificing captives of war. He concluded with an explanation of the Aztec mode of dividing time and a

graphic description of incidents connected with the ending of each fifty-two year cycle.

After the lecture ended, Professor Clement asked if a reason were known for fixing on fifty-two years as a cycle. Professor Starr explained that it was the result of the Aztec conception of "sacred numbers." Rev. Mr. Sweet asked for references to the best bibliographic sources of knowledge about the Aztecs. In response to this inquiry, Professor Starr recommended especially the works of W. H. Morgan and Adolf F. Bandalier.

The President, on behalf of the Society, most cordially thanked Professor Starr for his interesting lecture, and then declared the meeting adjourned.

ARTHUR LLOYD,
Chairman.

General Meeting, 12th October.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held at the home of Professor Lloyd, 13 Rokuchome, Iigura, Azabu, on Wednesday, October 12th, at four o'clock. After calling the meeting to order, the President, Professor Lloyd, asked for the minutes of the last meeting.

After the minutes were accepted, the President said that the business of the meetiug was a paper by Miss Ballard. This paper had come to the Council with the endorsement of the late Professor Griffin. He therefore invited those present to stand while he read a few prefatory remarks concerning the late Professor Griffin. The President then said:—

I desire to preface my reading of Miss Ballard's paper by stating that it came to the Council endorsed among others by the late Professor Griffin, who took much interest

in it while Miss Ballard had it under composition this summer at Hakone. It seems but right that I should, as President, in the name of the Council, and indeed of the whole of our Asiatic Society, give expression to our deep sense of the loss we have sustained by Professor Griffin's sad death. Mr. Griffin was not one of our oldest members, but he was one of our most active and most promising, and none can speak better of his activity and zeal than those who have worked with him at Council and Committee meetings. Had his life been spared our Transactions would certainly have been enriched by his labours:—but it is not the Transactions we have lost that we mourn for, it is the loss of a bright, genial, self-sacrificing personality.

Miss Ballard's paper, entitled "An Account of Watanabe Noboru (Kwazan)," was then read by Professor Lloyd. A summary of this interesting paper follows:—

Sixty years have passed since Noboru Watanabe took his own life, being under the impression that his mere existence brought discredit upon his feudal lord.

These sixty years have brought great changes, and Japan is now ready to do credit to the work done by Watanabe and his party. In a recent political speech Marquis Ito, in referring to the opening of Japan to foreign influence, made the following remarks:

"That the Restoration should have been combined with the opening of the country and the adoption of a policy of enlightened progress was a surprise to all. This great and decisive step is due of course to the keen foresight of the enlightened Sovereign and of the statesmen who surrounded and advised him at the time. No inconsiderable amount of credit, however, must in this

case be given to the patriots and savants like Shihei Hayashi, Kwazan Watanabe, Choei Takano, Shozan Sakuma and others."

Noboru Watanabe, commonly known by his *nom de plume* of Kwazan, was born in 1794. His father was a *samurai* of the Tawara clan. Kwazan's home was of the humblest and poorest description. His father had been ill for many years and in order to procure the necessary medicines for him, everything the family possessed had gradually been sold. In the coldest night of winter they had not a *futon* to lie on nor to cover them. Kwazan devoted all his leisure to study, hoping eventually by that means to do something to help his parents. One of his father's friends, however, told him that considering the extreme poverty of his home it was of no use his thinking of becoming a scholar, it was necessary that he should apply himself to something that would bring in money at once and as his pictures showed great talent he had better give himself to painting. So at the age of sixteen Kwazan began work as an art student. It was when he was over thirty that Kwazan first turned his attention to Dutch learning. The students of the Dutch, or Western, learning were divided at that time into two parties, one studied western learning in several branches, the other devoted itself to the study of medicine only. Kwazan and his friends also formed an association called "The Old Men's Club," whose avowed object was the study of foreign geography and history, but they had also the secret purpose of studying with a view to improving the maritime fortifications of Japan, which they felt to be defective. The year 1818 was marked by the coming of an English merchant ship to Uraga. The

Japanese Government were much annoyed that a foreign ship should venture so far, and the subject of maritime defense, in which Kwazan had always been interested, became a burning question. Kwazan thought that the inhabitants of sea coast places should be instructed by the Government as to the shape of foreign ships and the flags of different countries, so that they might be able to give the alarm when dangerous vessels appeared; he suggested that pictures should be posted up in Government offices. He also urged the Government to have Spring and Autumn manœuvres for the better training of the soldiers.

Torii, the Superintendent of Uraga, was extremely jealous of the position and influence of Kwazan and the other leaders of the advanced party, and had long been looking for some accusation to bring against them, when the publication of Takano Choei's "Yume Monogatari" gave him the opportunity he sought. He told the Government he believed that the talk about the probable coming of foreign ships was merely a fiction by which the Dutch scholars were trying to agitate the people and to rouse them to sedition. He advised that the Dutch scholars should be severely reprimanded.

Torii was not the only who was working against the Dutch scholars. A certain official named Shibukawa addressed a letter to the Government on the subject. He strongly advised that all foreign books brought into the country should be submitted to a sort of censorship. Under the present system, he said, scholars were allowed to order any books they pleased and take them to their homes; in this way pernicious reading on politics, forbidden religions, such as Christianity, and other erroneous opinions

were being widely spread. He proposed that all books should be taken straight to Yedo and examined there before being read by any one.

In May, 1839, Kwazan invited Takano one day to his house and told him that it was clear that trouble was in store for the Dutch scholars. Even while he was speaking a messenger arrived bringing the expected summons to appear before the Govərnment.

He was accused of having spoken and written disrespectfuliy of the Government, and passages were quoted from his writings. Kwazan's defence was that these passages did not occur in a published book but were merely in rough notes which had been written in time of excitement and then laid aside; he admitted that the language was hasty, but pleaded that no disrespect was meant.

When Kwazan was released, after a seven months' imprisonment, the joy of his friends was unbounded, but though released he was by no means a free man. His orders from the Government were to remain quietly in his house, to see no one, and to go back to Tawara as soon as possible. A letter written at the New Year from Tawara shows the spirit in which Kwazan took his expulsion from active life.

"When I lived in Yedo the expenses were great, so that at this time of the year I would be anxiously wondering how to meet them; and there was a perpetual rush of business. A fire would occur, or visitors would come, or there was the feudal duty to be done. Rising before it was light on New Year's day I would go all round Yedo in a *kago* paying my New Year's calls, with which half the month was taken up; and before the

remnants of last year's work were disposed of the holiday was over and the feudal duties began. Now all is changed. The Shogun, the feudal lord, and everyone else is represented in the person of my mother, to whom my wife and I render homage. The children serve as her companions, and the household are happy together.

The Lord of Tosa died but the succession of the heir was not confirmed by the Shogun, and Kwazan's enemies were not slow to insinuate that this delay was owing to the disloyalty of Kwazan. They argued that the clan could hope for no favours at the hand of the Shogun while it harboured such a traitor as Kwazan.

Kwazan therefore felt that his mere existence was an obstacle to the advancement of his lord and he resolved to put an end to a life which he thought was of no further use.

On October 10th, 1840, he wrote several letters of farewell and prepared to commit suicide that night. His aged mother, however, for some reason, was unable to sleep and he devoted himself to her comfort. The next afternoon, as he did not appear, his mother and wife went to his room in search of him. They found that he had committed suicide according to the prescribed *samurai* rules.

After the paper was read, the President said :—I may perhaps be allowed to supplement Miss Ballard's paper by one or two points which only came to my knowledge a few days ago, too late for me to send Miss Ballard the information.

(i.) Watanabe's zeal for the study of geography was apparently first kindled by the sight of a wall-map of the world which he one day saw hanging in the room of one of his friends. He was so much interested in it that he

could not take his eyes off it for the rest of that day. He is said to have then realized for the first time the smallness of Japan and the enormous encroachments of Russia.

Hence his zeal for the study of geography.

(ii.) The *Morrison* was an American ship. A party of three Japanese fisherman, blown out to sea in 1835, were picked up on the coast of Queen Charlotte Island in British Columbia, and well treated. They were afterwards sent to Macao. to be under the care of Rev. John Gutzlaff, a missionary of (I believe) the London Missionary Society. Here they were joined by four other sailors who had been cast away near Manila, and when all the seven had had been with Mr. Gutzlaff for some time, a gentleman in Singapore furnished the means for sending them home on the *Morrison* (1839). They undoubtedly had a missionary object, but the *Morrison* was not allowed to land her Japanese either at Yedo or at Kagoshima. Hildreth, from whom I take this account, says that the Japanese were so disgusted at not being allowed to land that they shaved their heads in token of renouncing their nationality and returned to China with the *Morrison*. What happened to them afterwards is not recorded.

It is evident therefore that the story of these men having been educated for some years in English is not true. This is borne out by another fact. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1838 has a long article on a book by Dr. Gutzlaff, "China Opened," which seems to have created some stir in England at the time, as I have found references to it in several parts of that volume of the *Magazine*. Had there been several Japanese youths in England at the time, connected with Dr. Gutzlaff, the fact would

have been known and have been mentioned. I think the silence of the Reviewers shows that they were not in England. Possibly more on this subject might be found in the archives of the London Missionary Society.

(iii.) The book which brought Watanabe into trouble was entitled *Shinkinron*, "A Word of Warning." It exists in Japanese in a volume entitled *Bunmei tozenshi* and is not very long. I am sorry to say I have not read it, but I have had a tolerably full analysis given me by one of my pupils. It contains (i.) a description of the various countries of Europe; which Powers would be most minutely described it is not difficult to guess. (ii.) An account of the encroachments made on Asiatic territory from time to time by European Powers. Russia we know had been encroaching; it was the time when England was engaged in the Opium War. (iii.) An attack on the Shogun's Government and the weak state of the coast defences of the country.

ARTHUR LLOYD.
Chairman.

Annual General Meeting, Dec. 14, 1904.

By kind invitation of His Excellency Mr. Lloyd Griscom, the Annual General Meeting of the Society was held at the United States Legation on Wednesday, December 14th, at four o'clock. The President of the Society, Professor Lloyd, said that the minutes of the last meeting had been published in the *Japan Mail*, that doubtless they had been read by most of the members, and that, if no one had any change to suggest, they would be allowed to stand as printed. He then said that the paper to be read was a translation by R. J. Kirby, Esq., from the works of Dazai Jun, entitled "Bubi: Preparation for

War." This paper, with a preface by Mr. Kirby, was then read.

(*See paper printed at length in this volume.*)

The President, on behalf of the Society, warmly thanked Mr. Kirby for the paper, which was timely and interesting and which must have cost much labour and trouble. He said that it was interesting to see how in this paper Dazai refers to the decrease of population which, under the strict repressive laws of the Tokugawa, was a striking fact of the Shogunate Era. Dazai emphasized the importance of industry, food, riches, and especially the careful preparation which the Japanese now show.

The reports for the year, which were unanimously accepted by the meeting, follow.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

In the year ending to-day, eight Council meetings and four General Meetings of the Society have been held. At a General Meeting held January 27th, Reverend Ekai Kawaguchi lectured on his "Personal Experiences among the Tibetans." On March 17th, Professor Frederick Starr, Ph.D., of the University of Chicago, lectured before the Society on "The Aztecs." On October 12th, a paper by Miss Ballard, entitled "Sketch of the Life of Watanabe Noboru," was read before the Society. For to-day, the paper is a translation from the works of Dazai, "Bubi, Preparation for War."

In the matter of publication, the Society has added one number to its list of Transactions. A pamphlet containing a List of Transactions, the revised Constitution

and By-Laws and other important information has also been published. Two other short papers are now available for publication. Together they will make an interesting number of the Transactions.

Ten new names have been added to the list of members. By death, the Society has sustained very exceptional losses, seven members in all. Of these, two were Honorary Members—Major J. W. Powell and Sir Edwin Arnold—one, a Life Member, and four, Ordinary Members. One was an active and valuable member of the Council.

The Treasurer and the Librarian elected one year ago by the Society were forced by other duties to resign their respective offices. The vacancies were temporarily filled by Council, J. McD. Gardiner, Esq. being made Treasurer, and Professor A. Lloyd, Librarian.

On invitation, Council appointed the Rend Clay MacCauley to act as Delegate of the Society at the Eighth International Geographical Congress, which was convened at Washington, D.C., in September. Dr. John Milne with regret declined the invitation of Council to act in a similar capacity.

Other actions of Council, which have special interest for Members, were the adoption of a resolution which limits to a period not exceeding two years the time within which the Librarian may use his discretion in supplying gratuitously to Members missing numbers of the Transactions; and the adoption of a resolution which makes it the duty of the Librarian from time to time to notify members concerning the acquisition of new works by the Library.

TREASURER'S ACCOUNTS.

THE HON. TREASURER IN ACCOUNT WITH THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

January 1st, 1904.

		Yen.
To Balance in Banks		2,749.07
To Amount credited Cash in error Dec. 30th, 1903		100.00
To Membership Fees		187.74
To Sale of Transactions		249.25
To Interest		39.61
By Paid for Printing		108.38
By Paid for Binding		68.10
By Paid for Postage		78.73
By Paid for Stationery		16.70
By Paid for Salary Assistant Librarian		175.00
By Paid for Purchase of Books		59.07
By Paid for Sundries		15.45
By Paid for Lecture in Yokohama		29.00
By Paid for Insurance		100.00
By Paid for Rent		100.00
By Paid for Delegate to Geographical Congress.		50.00
By Paid for Balance in Banks	2,483.37	
By Paid for Balance in Librarian's Hands	41.87	2,525.67
		3,325.67

December 14th, 1904

J. McD GARDINER,
Hon. Treasurer.

Examined. compared with vouchers and found correct.

J. T. SWIFT.
RICHARD J. KIRBY.

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT.

The Librarian, who has been acting temporarily as successor to Mr. Swift, who resigned in the summer, begs to report that the sales of transactions during the current year have amounted to *yen* 423,36. The money for some of these sales may not yet have reached the Treasurer's hands, which will account for any discrepancy between the Librarian's record of sales, and the entries in the Treasurer's books.

The annexed list of transaction in stock will show that the supply of some volumes is running very low, and it it will be for the Council next year to decide whether these volumes should be reprinted or not. As a rule when a volume, for which there is some demand, runs low, it is a sign that it is a valuable number.

The volume of Transaction for 1904 will contain in addition to the account of Prof. Starr's lecture and the records of the meetings, two valuable papers, one by Miss Ballard on Watanabe Kwazan, and, no doubt, one by Mr. Kirby on "Bubi or Preparation for War." It will be sent to the printers immediately.

The Librarian has to thank the members of the Library Committee for much valuable assistance in the re-arrangement of the Library. Books which seemed to be foreign to the direct work of the Society have been removed from the Library, and placed as a loan collection in the Library of the Keiogijuku University. The books remaining in the Society's Library have been re-arranged and and re-catalogued, a work which is now almost completed, and some money has been spent on binding and on the purchase of new books.

The Librarian regrets to report that very little use has been made of the Library. Very few books have been taken out, and the visitors to the Library during the year have not been ten persons—indeed the number has been far below that. If we consider that a very great portion of our expenses really concern the Library, it is but natural to ask the question whether it would not be advisable to take some step either to make the Library more useful, or to relieve the Society of a rather profitless burden. This will be a matter for the Council to consider during the ensuing year.

ARTHUR LLOYD.

Tokyo, December 14th, 1904.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

Officers and Members of Council for the ensuing year were then elected :—

President	Professor A. Lloyd.
Vice-President for Tokyo ...	Dr. D. MacDonald.
„ for Yokohama ...	J. C. Hall, Esq., H.B.M's Consul-General.
Corresponding Secretary ...	Professor E. H. Vickers.
Recording Secty, for Tokyo.	„ „
„ for Yokohama ...	Dr. J. L. Dearing.
Treasurer	J. McD. Gardiner, Esq.
Librarian	Professor A. Lloyd.

Members of Council :—

B. H. Chamberlain, Esq.
J. H. Gubbins, Esq.
Rev. D. C. Greene, D.D.
Rev. A. F. King.
R. J. Kirby, Esq.
Professor J. T. Swift.

R. S. Miller, Esq.
Rev. Walter Weston.
Professor E. W. Clement.
Rev. H. H. Guy.

The President announced the resnlt of the election and declared the Meeting adjourned.

ARTHUR LLOYD.
Chairman.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

Honorary Members.

Aston, C. M. G., W. G., The Bluff, Beer, E. Devon, England.
Day, Prof. Geo., Yale College, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.
Edkins, D. D., Rev. Joseph, Shanghai, China.
Hepburn, M. D., L. L. D., J. C. 71 Glenwood Avenue, East Orange, New Jersy, U.S.A.
Rein, Prof. J. J., Bonn-am-Rhein, Germany.
Satow, G. C. M. G., Sir Ernest M., British Legation, Peking.

Life Members.

Alexander, Rev. R. P., Hirosaki.
Amerman, D. D., Rev. James L., 25 East 22nd St., New York, U.S.A.
Andrews, Rev. W., Hakodate.
Atkinson, R. S. C., R. W., 44 London Sq., Cardiff, Wales.
Bigelow, D. R. W. S., Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
Bisset, F. L. S., J., 9 Greenhill Park, Edinburgh.
Blanchet, Rev. C. T., Philmont, N.Y., U.S.A.
Booth, Rev. E. S., 178 Bluff, Yokohama.
Brinkley. R. A., Capt. F., 3 Hiro-o cho, Azabu, Tōkyō.
Brown, Capt. A. R., Dhuhill House, Helensburgh, Argyll, Scotland.
Cary, Rev. Otis, Karasumaru, Kiōto.
Carsen, T. G., Bannfield, Coleraine, Ireland.

Center, Alex., Pacific Mail office, San Francisco.
Chamberlain, B. H., Miyanoshita, Hakone.
Cheon, A., Hanoi, Tonkin.
Clarke-Thornhill, T. B., Rushton Hall, Kettering, Northamptonshire, England.
Clement, E. W., 29 Sanai saka, Ichigaya, Ushigome, Tōkiō.
Cocking, S., Yokohama.
Conder, J., 20 Mikawa-daimachi, Azabu, Tōkiō.
Cooper, L. L. D., C. J., Mundford, Norfolk, England.
Dartmouth College, Hanover, H. H., U.S.A. until 1934.
Dautremer, J. Hankow, China.
Deas, F. W,, 12 Magdala Place, Edinburgh.
De Bunsen, M., Abbey Lodge, Regent's Park, London.
Dickins, F. V., University of London, Burlington Gardens, London, W.
Dillon, E., 13 Upper Phillimore Gardens, Kensington, London, S. W.
Divers, M. D., F.R.S., Edward, c/o Père Evrard, 25 Tsukiji, Tōkiō. (absent).
Dixon, F. R. S. E., J.M., 5886, Von Verein Ave., St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.
Dixon, M. A., Rev. William Gray, Warrnabool, Victoria, Australia.
Droppers, Professor Garrett: Vermillion. S. Dak., U.S.A.
Duer, Y., Shiba Kōenchi, Tōkiō.
Du Bois, M. D., Francis, 27 Rue de la Lepiniere, Paris.
Eaves, Rev. Geo., Poste Restante, Denver, Colorado.
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APPENDIX A.

List of Papers and lectures during the Session of 1904.

1. Lecture on the Aztecs .....Prof. Ladd., University of Chicago.
2. The Life of Watanabe Noboru(Kwazan)..By Miss S. Ballard.
3. Dazai on Bubi, or the Art of War...By R. J. Kirby, Esq.

APPENDIX B.

List of Exchanges of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

Academy of Sciences, Lincoln Park, Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.
American Geographical Society, New York City, U. S. A.
„ Oriental Society, New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.
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Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.
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Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
Australian Association for the Advaneement of Science, Sydney.
Bataviasch Genootschap, Batavia, Java.
Buddhist Text Society, Calcutta.
Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D. C.
Bureau of Education, „ „
Canadian Institute, Tronto.
China Review, Hongkong.
Chinese Recorder, Shanghai.
Cosmos de Guido Cora, 2, Via Goito, Rome Italy.
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Tōkio.
Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellscoaft, Leipzig.
Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada, Ottawa.
Harvard University, Museum of Comparative Zoology, Cambridge, Mass. U. S. A.
Imperial Russian Geographical Society, St. Petersburg.
Imperial Library, Ueno Park, Tōkiō.
Imperial University of Japan, Tōkiō.
Imperial University of Kyoto.
Japan Society, London.
Japan Weekly Mail, Tokio.

Johns Hopkins University Publications, Baltimore, Md. U. S. A.
Journal Asiatique, Paris.
Musée Guimet, Paris.
Pekin Oriantal Society, Pekin.
Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, London.
„ „ „ Bombay Branch.
„ „ „ Ceylon Branch, Colombo.
„ „ „ China Branch, Shanghai.
„ „ „ Strait Branch, Singapore.
Royal Dublin Society, Kildare St., Dublin.
Royal Geographical Society, London.
Royal Society, London.
„ „ of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Scotland.
„ „ Sydney, New South Wales.
„ „ Adelaide, South Australia.
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Sociedad Geograpbica de Madrid, Madrid.
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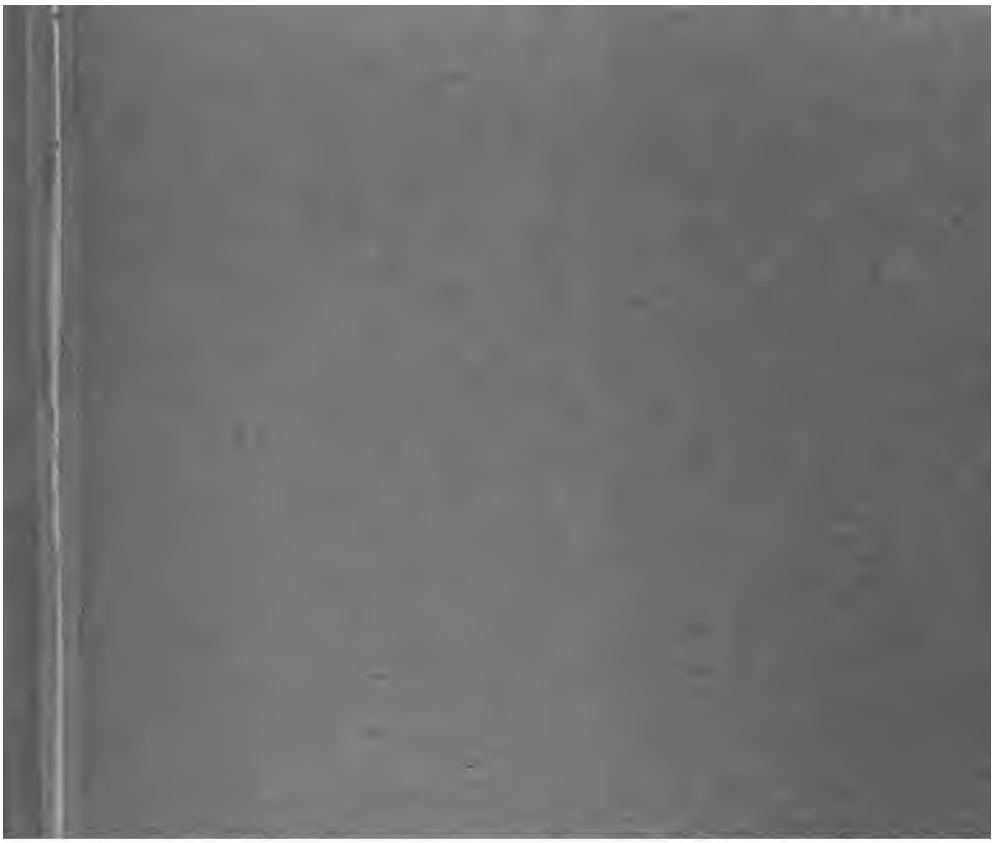

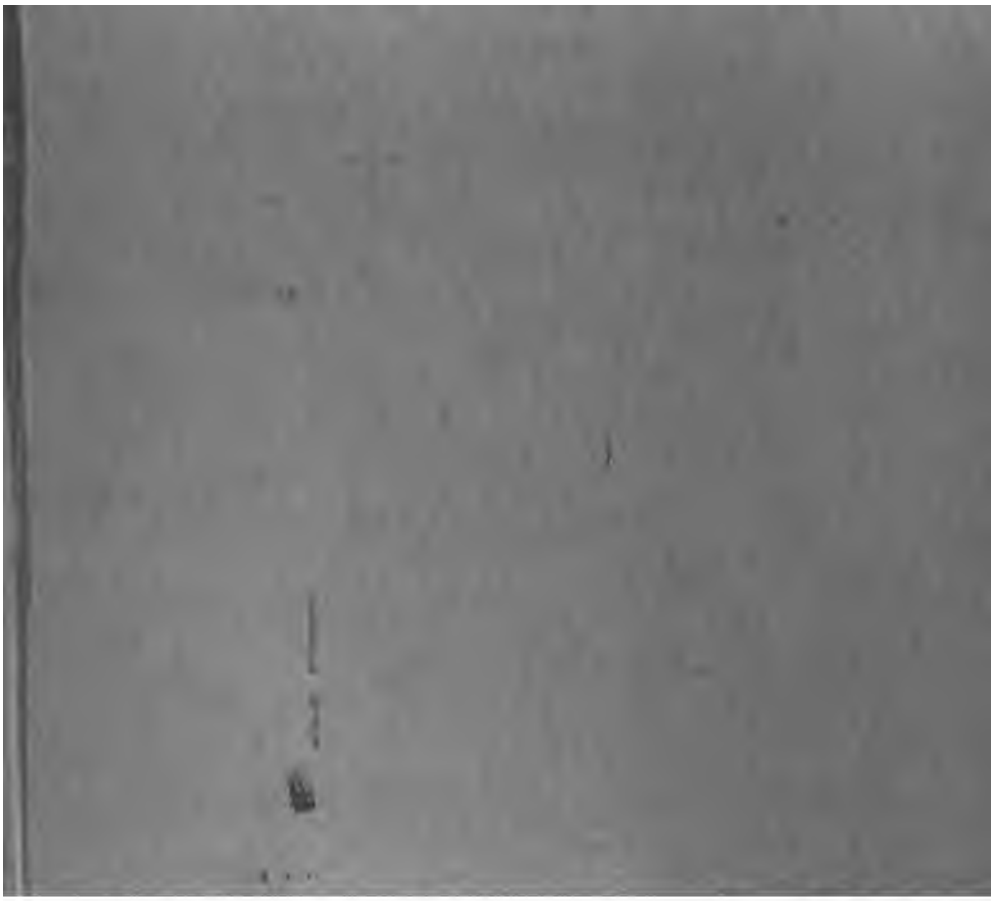

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